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THE MEANING OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS

WITH SOME REMARKS AS TO ITS HISTORY AND ON PRAYING FOR THE DEPARTED

BY THE

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TO

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PREFACE.

THE subject with which this short Treatise deals, *The Communion of Saints*, is one which, as its Author truly states, is of general and far-reaching interest and importance. The offer to the whole human family of a Communion or Fellowship which is proof against all the forces of disunion and disintegration, which neither time nor space can impair, and which death cannot annihilate, is in itself a Gospel. Such an offer the *Holy Catholic Church* makes to all who will accept it. Such a Communion or Fellowship she propounds to the world, not as a subject of speculation, but as an accomplished fact; not as an ideal "Republic," but as an actual "City of God." Both her Sacraments bequeathed to her by her Lord, bear witness to her claim, a claim which she has made good by her existence and her growth through well-nigh two millenniums. In the Sacrament of admission to her membership she requires from its recipient an avowal of belief in *The Communion of Saints*. In the Sacrament of growth and continuance she forbids its celebration, unless communion is visibly represented by the number who partake of it; and bids her faithful communicants render thanks for the assurance they have received in it that they are "very

members incorporate in the mystical Body of God's Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." Day by day she invites her members, in attitude of bold avowal, and, if need be, of resolute defence, to profess their adherence to this Article of her Creed.

We must, therefore, welcome heartily any honest and painstaking attempt to promote an intelligent understanding of so important a matter as *The Communion of Saints*. Such an attempt we have in the following pages. They contain a careful and critical inquiry into the History, Meaning, and Doctrine of this Article of the Creed.

As regards its History, it is shown by reference to Original Authorities that while, as is now generally admitted, the whole Creed in its present form is of comparatively recent date, and can only be ascribed to the Apostles as representing their doctrine, and not as claiming their authorship, this particular clause was among the latest to obtain general recognition by the Church.

The Meaning of the Clause is arrived at by a like careful and critical examination, with reference to Authorities, and to the use of the original words both in the New Testament and the ancient writers, of both the terms "Saints" and "Communion." The possible rendering of the words used for Saints, "holy things" rather than "holy persons," is mentioned only to be summarily rejected. It contains a truth; for participation in holy things is a privilege of membership of the Holy Catholic Church. But it is a wholly inadequate representation of a term which, in the terse language of

a Creed, must have the highest and widest possible signification attached to it. Accordingly, it is shown to include not only all saints now on earth, "the Holy Church throughout all the world," but all departed saints; and, with them, "Angels and Archangels and all the company of heaven," and God Himself, the Blessed Trinity, "of Whom, and through Whom, and to Whom," the Fellowship exists.

In the Treatment of the Doctrine of the Clause, especially of the much-disputed question of the nature of the communion between living and departed saints, we have a fair and candid statement of the case. The remarkable and significant reticence of Holy Scripture, a reticence which is designedly followed by our Church, is freely acknowledged. The fact that in the New Testament there is only one, and that a doubtful, example of prayers for the dead is admitted. The opinion of Coverdale, that the practice of praying for the dead cannot really be traced to the Primitive Church, is fully quoted. If the writer advocates the practice, as he clearly appears to do, it is in the exercise of his undoubted right, as an English Churchman, of private judgment in matters which are beyond the essential requirements and public Ordinances of the Church.

A careful and devout perusal of this Treatise cannot fail to repay the reader; and to impress him afresh with the deep significance and priceless value of that *Communion of Saints*, which one of the Apostles, whose doctrine the Creed and this Clause of it authoritatively represent, has taught us that it was the object of the Incarnation to institute and promote, "That which we

have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ."

T. T. PEROWNE.

Redenhall Rectory.

Author's Preface to the Second Edition.

This Second Edition is practically a reprint of the First with the passages quoted from the Greek and Latin Authorities carefully translated into English. It is hoped that this translation may render the volume of use to a larger circle of readers, who may be interested in this most beautiful, most comforting, and most helpful Article of the Christian Faith, especially Lecturers and Students at the Theological Colleges and at the Training Colleges for Teachers.

As regards the portion of the book that deals with praying for the departed, every effort has been made to present the case fairly. The attitude of mind towards this subject has changed since the first edition. There can be little doubt that the barrier raised between the living and the dead at the Reformation has been largely instrumental in causing the materialistic conceptions that at present exist. It is difficult, apparently, to accept the point of view recently stated, which regards what is "revealed" as something fixed, and does not sufficiently take account of the progressive teaching of the Holy Ghost throughout the ages. One great obstacle in many minds to a belief in Christianity is the assumption that it is a book religion, and ends with the Apocalypse.

It is earnestly hoped by the Author that in bringing out this Second Edition, through the kind help of the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (to whom sincere thanks are accorded by him) the faith of some may be strengthened and the sorrow of bereavement in the lives of others may be consoled by this effort to unfold the fulness of meaning in this most important Article of the Christian Creed.

JOHN C. VAWDREY.

The Vicarage, King's Lynn.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY AND MEANING OF ARTICLE.

PAGE

Introductory 1

Scope of the Work 2

The Article a natural Corollary on its Predecessor .. 2

Its Scriptural Authority: 3

(*a*) Our Lord's Assertion of it

(*b*) S. Paul's Statements

(*c*) S. John's Statements

The Doctrine underlies other Passages also .. 5

The Fellowship that of the Gospel 5

Remaining Passages of Importance 6

Commentary on the Article 9

Basis of the Article and its Practical Outcome .. 10

Its Signification: 10

(*a*) Spiritual Fellowship

(*b*) Joint Participation in Holy Things

(*c*) Its Reference to Saints

(*d*) Saints on Earth and Saints in Heaven

Use of the word "Fellowship": 13

(*a*) Old Testament

(*b*) Evidence of Dutripon

(*c*) New Testament

(*d*) With Reference to the Lord's Supper

PAGE

Differing Views of the Doctrine conveyed by the Article 20
Explanation of the Views 21
Reformation Authorities: 22
(1) Martin Luther
(2) Calvin
(3) Heidelberg Catechism
(4) Westminster Confession
Summary of Views and Doctrine deduced: .. 24
(*a*) A Fellowship of Faith
(*b*) A Fellowship of Interest and Hope
(*c*) A Fellowship of Prayer and Work
The Origin of the Ideas suggesting the Doctrine was not Pagan 33

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE CLAUSE.

Nicetas of Remesiana 35
Friend of Paulinus of Nola 36
Date 36
Occurrence of the Clause in Nicetas' Sermon .. 37
Professor Harnack's Suggestions 37
Faustus of Riez 38
Heresy of Vigilantius 38
His denial that Saints in Glory prayed for the Living 38
Dr. Caspari's collected evidence 39
Restriction of the term "Saint" to Martyrs .. 42
Alternatives as to First Occurrence of the Clause.. 44
S. Augustine's Testimony 44
List of the Various Creeds noting where Clause occurs 53–54

PAGE
Results of the Examination of the Creeds .. 55
Evidence from Epitaphs and Acts of the Martyrs 55

PART III.

PRAYING FOR THE DEPARTED.

Introductory 57
Point of Divergence 57
General Statement 58
General Arguments 58
Prayers of the faithful on earth and faithful departed offered to God 59
Evidence of S. Augustine 60
Onesiphorus 60
Early Evidence: and that of the Catacombs and Monuments: 61
(*a*) Justin
(*b*) Christ's Words on the Cross
(*c*) Funeral Hymn of Prudentius
Practice of the Middle of the Second Century .. 65
Pronouncement of the Council of Trent—Fra Paolo Sarpi 66
True Aspect of the Question 67
Use of Prayers for the Dead by the Early Church.. 68
Why the Practice was discontinued 69
Practice of the Early Church not to be reconciled with that of the Roman Catholic Church .. 70
Coverdale's Statements 71
Summary and Statement of the Case 74
Distinction between Primitive Church and Mediæval and Modern Roman Church 75

PAGE

Connection of this subject with the Doctrine of the Article 76

As to how we and they have Fellowship 77

APPENDIX.

Additional and Concluding Remarks: 79

(*a*) Three Main Points

(*b*) The Sense of the Article

(*c*) Fundamental Ideas and Shades of Meaning

Conclusion 84

The Meaning of the Doctrine of the Communion of Saints,

With some Remarks as to its History and on Praying for the Departed.

PART I.

Introductory.

At all times, and among all nations, there has existed a strong desire to penetrate into things unseen. This feeling lies at the base of all religious faith. The belief in another world besides this one has been generally prevalent throughout all ages. Its foundation rests upon two of the strongest instincts of human nature. The one is curiosity, the other self-interest. From the often learned astrologer of olden time down to the modern gipsy fortune-teller, we can discern the same motives at work. To the eager wish to search into the felt realities of the unseen, whether of the present or the future, let there be added the element of self-interest, and at once we are confronted with one of the controlling motives of religious thought and faith. It is to this underlying

trait as discoverable in human nature—to this striving after a vital union of the seen with the unseen, that we owe the presence among the Articles of our Christian Creed of that of the Descent into Hades, and of that of the Communion of Saints.

SCOPE OF THE WORK.

It has been my aim in the following pages to present to the reader this Article of the Communion of Saints under its various aspects, so as to display something, at any rate, of its fulness of significance; touching, as well, upon the subject of praying for the dead, which is closely allied with it in thought; and endeavouring, possibly, to stimulate an interest which may lead to further inquiry and research, so as to produce the eminently desirable result of an increase not only of the "faith which is in us," but also of the ability to give an account of that faith.

NATURAL COROLLARY ON ITS PREDECESSOR.

The Article is a natural Corollary on its Predecessor, "the Holy Catholic Church." We no sooner attain in our minds the conception of Christ's Church as existing here on earth than our thoughts travel on to the unseen part of it, necessarily embodied in any scriptural idea of the Church Catholic. And in a Creed collected from certain sermons which have been ascribed to Eusebius Gallus, about 600 A.D., but which is ascribed by Dr. Caspari, with whom Dr. Swainson (D.C.B. i. 710) agrees, as also does Professor Harnack, to Faustus, Bishop of Riez, in Provence, about 480 A.D., this clause, "the Communion of Saints," follows immediately after that

of the Holy Catholic Church. As this is the *earliest known occurrence* of the Article, it is interesting and important to find it obtaining a place next after the expression of faith in the Christian Church, as showing that from the earliest times the clause was regarded as a consequent of its predecessor. Martin Luther, too, as will be seen later, took the words as expository of their predecessors.

ITS SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY.

What authority do we find in Holy Scripture for this clause in the Creed? For that should be the first step in the examination of any phrase or statement which has, as its subject, a point of doctrine.

Let us note the passages, of which there are several, examining some of them, and noting how the statement of our faith is deduced:

OUR LORD'S ASSERTION OF IT.

We find Christ Himself declaring the doctrine, "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us" (S. John xvii. 21).

S. PAUL'S STATEMENTS.

The Apostle of the Gentiles sets forth the doctrine as follows:—

(*a*) "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling" (Eph. iv. 4).

(*b*) "Beloved of God, called to be saints" (Rom. i. 7).

(*c*) "They are many members, yet one body" (1 Cor. xii. 20).

(*d*) "Our conversation is in heaven" (Phil. iii. 20).

(*e*) " For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it, therefore, not of the body ? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing ? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling ? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him. And if they were all one member, where were the body ? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee : nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary : and those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour ; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have no need : but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked : that there should be no schism in the body ; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it ; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular " (1 Cor. xii. 12–27).

S. JOHN'S STATEMENTS.

The Apostle of Love writes as follows:

(*a*) "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ; if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another" (1 S. John i. 3 and 7).

(*b*) "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ" (Rev. i. 9).

THE DOCTRINE UNDERLIES OTHER PASSAGES ALSO.

Besides the direct statements, the doctrine underlies other passages, *e.g.* (1) "And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers" (Acts ii. 42).

The reference here is to the newly-converted, expanded in verse 44 to all the believers. The periphrastic form of expression in the Greek seems to emphatically mark the action as habitually continuous. The "*doctrine*" was no doubt based on the Old Testament, though at this time the Apostles' teaching may have very little exceeded a simple outline of the life of Christ.

THE FELLOWSHIP THAT OF THE GOSPEL.

The fellowship is that of the Gospel (Phil. i. 5), the distribution of worldly goods and contributing to the offertory being probably included. This, together with "the breaking of the bread," *i.e.* the administering and receiving of the Holy Eucharist, which it was apparently

the custom of the primitive Church to receive daily, and "the prayers" appertaining to their common worship, and combining very likely old familiar Jewish with Christian devotions—the plural indicating possibly fixed times for prayer—united believers into a corporate society, the Communion of Saints.

(2) "But as He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written 'Be ye holy, for I am holy'" (1 Pet. i. 15, 16). The Christian is called upon to look up to God the Father, to Whom the election of believers is always attributed, as his example in accordance with the Saviour's word, "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven" (S. Matt. v. 45). The special end of God's calling is "holiness" (1 Thess. iv. 3), *i.e.* separation from sin and evil. This was a bond uniting the faithful believers into a communion and fellowship—the Communion of Saints.

Remaining Passages of Importance.

A few remaining passages may be examined more carefully, viz:

Eph. iii. 6. S. Paul is speaking of the salvation of the Gentiles as well as the Jews. At the Apostle's conversion he was commissioned to go to the Gentiles, that they might also receive forgiveness of sins, and an "inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith which is in me." S. Paul in this sixth verse writes, "fellow-heirs and of the same body, and fellow-partakers of his promise in Christ." These three expressions are not to be taken as only oratorically cumulative. The general fact of the "joint-inheritance" is reasserted.

The Gentiles are fellow-heirs with the Jews, *i.e.* they belong to the same corporate body, the faithful; they shared fully in the same spiritual promises and blessings in Christ, that is, as Christians. *Cf.* also Eph. iv. 12, "for building up the body of Christ."

Eph. iv. 16. "From whom the whole body being fitly framed together and compacted by means of every joint of the (spiritual) supply and knit together (compounded together) according to energy (vital working) in the measure of (*i.e.* in due proportion, commensurate with) each several part, carries on the increase of the body for building up of itself in love." Stier finds in the repetition of "body" a declaration of a spiritual fact, that the body makes increase of *the body*, and so is a living organism; that its growth is not only due to aggregations from without, but also to vital forces from within.

Eph. v. 23: "He Himself [is] the Saviour of the body." I have placed brackets because the verb is not in the true text. An important particular is here stated, one in which the comparison the Apostle is making did not hold, viz., that He (and, in this complete meaning, none other) is the Saviour of the body.

Col. i. 18: "And He is the Head of the body, the Church." Not only does He hold the position of absolute priority and sovereignty over the Universe, He stands also in like relation to the Church. He is its Head, and it is His body. Thus in all things in the Church, as in the world, He hath the pre-eminence in everything.

The Apostle, in his earlier Epistles, describes the relation of the Church to Christ under the same likeness (*cf.* 1 Cor. vi. 15; x. 17; Rom. xii. 4); but he there takes

the various duties of the members as his starting-point, and not, as in the later Epistles, the originating and controlling power of the Head. *Cf.* Col. i. 24; ii. 19; Eph. i. 22; ii. 16; iv. 12, 16; v. 23, 30.

Christ's resurrection from the dead is His title to the headship of the Church: for the "power of His resurrection" (Phil. iii. 10) is the life of the Church. *Cf.* Col. ii. 17.

Col. ii. 19: "Not holding fast the Head, from whom the whole body supplied and knit together by joints and bands through the junctures and ligaments." The construction is "according to sense"; grammar is overridden, the Head being personal. The Head is to be regarded as a title, so that a person is at once suggested. In the structure of the human body the elements of union are two-fold; the body owes its compactness partly to the articulations, partly to the attachment. So here. Contact and attachment are the primary ideas in junctures and ligaments respectively. The two functions performed by the junctures and ligaments are the supply of nutriment and the compacting of the frame. In other words, they represent the communication of life and energy, and the preservation of unity and order. The source of all is Christ the Head. But the channels of communication are the different members of His body in their relations one to another. In the parallel passage, Eph. iv. 16, this part of the image is more distinctly dwelt upon. The difference, it may perhaps be here mentioned, corresponds to the different aims of the two Epistles. In the letter to the Colossians the vital connection with the Head is the main theme. The essential idea of the Judæo-Gnostic heresy, against which the Epistle to

the Colossians is directed, the bringing in a host of intermediary agencies, necessarily challenged the sovereign position of the Saviour. In that to the Ephesians the unity in diversity among the members is what is specially dwelt on. By the two-fold means of contact and attachment nutriment has been diffused and structural unity has been attained; but these are not the ultimate result: they are only intermediate processes. The end is growth—"Increaseth with the increase of God." With the Infinite thus the finite is truly united. With this conclusion of the sentence we may contrast Eph. iv. 16, where again the different endings are determined by the different motives of the two Epistles.

COMMENTARY ON THE ARTICLE.

An excellent commentary on this beautifully spiritual and yet extremely practical article of our faith is furnished by S. Paul in this most spiritual of all his Epistles, the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The Apostle speaks, in chap. i. 10, of Christ setting before Himself a plan for the carrying out of a dispensation which belongs to (was brought about in) the fulness of the seasons, so as to gather up in one all things, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him. Though the language used cannot contain any direct reference to the Headship of Christ, yet it plainly implies the harmony of the universe in Him, the union in Christ by virtue of His Incarnation and Atonement; not only of all things but of all beings, of things and beings in heaven and things and beings upon earth; the eternal "communion of saints."

BASIS OF THE ARTICLE AND ITS PRACTICAL OUTCOME.

The basis of the Article of our Creed, " the Communion of Saints," lies in the doctrinal view of the Kingdom of God—the Church ; or, as it is also called in the Gospels, the Kingdom of Heaven. Its practical outcome is found in the earliest age, and is still to be found in the faithful living on earth being " Kind one to another," and praying for each other. Some would even maintain that an outcome is found in the prayers to God for the souls of the faithful departed ; others, though not of our own Church, connect with it the invocation of the departed members of the Kingdom of God for their intercession with God, be it in favour of the believers upon earth, or for those faithful souls already departed. This last outcome shows itself especially, of course, in the invocation of the Saints in the genuine sense of the term, which meant, in the early Christian age, the Martyrs.

ITS SIGNIFICATION.

" Communion of Saints "—if the phrase signifies anything, it must surely involve a participation, a fellowship, of some kind. It is not difficult to understand, moreover, that in a certain sense there is

SPIRITUAL FELLOWSHIP.

between the living and the faithful dead. For (1) we find Christ speaks of the Kingdom of God with reference to the earthly and the heavenly life. *Vide* S. Matt.vi. 33, S. Mark i. 15, S. Luke viii. 1, etc., with reference to the earthly life ; and S. Mark ix. 1, xiv. 25, S. Luke xiii. 28, etc., with reference to the heavenly life. The faithful dead, therefore, belong to the Kingdom of God.

(2) The Apostles speak in several places of the faithful on earth having a fellowship in the Kingdom of God, the completion of such fellowship being only in the future life, *cf.* 1 Thess. iv. 13–15, 2 Tim. iv. 18, 2 Peter i. 10, 11, Rom. viii. 29, 30, and especially Eph. vi. 17–19, "*all* the saints."

JOINT PARTICIPATION IN HOLY THINGS.

Next, as being easily dismissed, I think, let us take into consideration that interpretation which renders the clause "a joint participation in holy things." The meaning seems to have occurred to the minds of some writers of the earlier part of the twelfth century, or the close of the eleventh; and to have been revived, with but little support, by Zahn in our own day. Peter Abelard (as I have elsewhere shown) writes, "We are also able to speak of 'holy things' in the neuter, that is of the consecrated bread and wine," after previously having suggested other interpretations. And in the Canterbury or Eadwin Psalter (1120—1125 A.D.) now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS., R. 17. 1), we find the article rendered, "la communiun des seintes choses" "the communion of holy things" in the Norman-French Interlinear Translation. But the age which introduced the clause into the Creed knows nothing of such a meaning. The idea, however, was familiar; but the words by which it was expressed were, "communio sanctorum," which frequently occur in the writings of S. Augustine, and not "sanctorum communio." And bearing in mind that this Article has plainly a relationship to that which precedes it, "the Holy Catholic Church," in which it may be that here are some persons who are not holy, the words, "the Communion of Saints,"

being definitive of those who are truly righteous, we may, I think, understand "Saints" to be the members of Christ's Church, as that Church is described by Bp. Pearson in his famous Exposition of the Creed, as built upon the Apostles, laid upon the foundation of their doctrine—members, *i.e.* who are sanctified by the Gospel, and not mere professors of it.

ITS REFERENCE TO SAINTS.

As to what this sanctity is, and who are capable of the title "Saints," we must learn, says Bp. Pearson, "out of the Gospel of Christ, by which alone, ever since the Church of Christ was founded, any person can become a 'Saint.'" Now, by the tenour of the Gospel, we shall find that those are truly and properly "Saints" which are sanctified in Christ Jesus: first, in respect of their holy faith; by which they are regenerated, for "whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God"; by which they are purged by God Himself "purifying their hearts by faith"; whereby they are "washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, in Whom also, after that they believe, they are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise." Secondly, in respect of their conversation—their manner of life; for "as He which hath called them is holy," so are "they holy in all manner of conversation." Such persons, then, as are called by a holy calling, and are not disobedient to it; such as are endued with a holy faith and are purified thereby; such as are sanctified by the Holy Spirit of God, and by virtue thereof *do* lead a holy life, "perfecting holiness in the fear of God"; such people may indeed be said to be really and truly Saints; and being of the Church of Christ, as all

such must necessarily be, are correctly to be included in the Article of our Creed, "the Communion of Saints."

SAINTS ON EARTH AND SAINTS IN HEAVEN.

It is important to the consideration of our subject, and most interesting to note, that at our Lord's death, "many bodies of the saints which slept arose." These were, then, Saints while their bodies were in their graves. Consequently, such as are holy in their lives do not lose their holiness, but increase it at their deaths; nor can they lose their eternal possession. Hence arises that necessary distinction of the Saints on earth and the Saints in heaven—the Church militant, and the Church triumphant, respectively.

Taking now "holy" as masculine, which it seems it must be, if the Greek equivalent is to mean anything, the clause means "the communing" or "the Communion of Saints."

USE OF THE WORD "FELLOWSHIP."

(OLD TESTAMENT).

A distinct help now in our investigation of the meaning of the Article will be to examine the use of the word "Fellowship." Taking the Old Testament Scriptures first, there are three instances, and only three, of its use in them:

(*a*) Levit. vi. 2. (A.V. and R.V. and LXX) but v. 21 (Hebrew), "if a soul sin" . . . "and lie" . . . "in fellowship" lit. "in the placing of [the] hand" *i.e.* "a bargain," R.V. "agreement," notified by giving the hand.

(*b*) Hosea vii. 4. (Editio Quinta, *vide* Field [Hexapla ii. 950*b*]), where the question may arise as to

which genitive is subordinate. If we follow the Vulgate it is as though we took it "of the mingling of the dough," and we should then explain it, "the *mixing* or kneading of the constituents of the mass."

(*c*) Sapientia (Wisdom) viii. 18. "And in talking with her a good report"; "fellowship *in* her words."

Under the word "communio," Dutripon (Concordance of the Vulgate) cites also Ecclus. ix. 20, "communionem mortis scito," where the "communio" of the Vulgate has no "fellowship" answering to it in the LXX. The recently discovered Hebrew of the passage agrees exactly with the Greek. The general sense of the Latin is, "recognise the universal fellowship unto death."

USE OF THE WORD "FELLOWSHIP" (NEW TESTAMENT).

Turning next to the New Testament, we note the following passages:

Acts ii. 42, which has been already noticed (*cf.* p. 5.).

Romans xv. 26, which is not relevant.

1 Cor. i. 9. "Unto the followship of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord." Fellowship with His Son must here denote association with Him in His glory; for set in that glory God's children (Rom. viii. 21) are to be also partakers with Him, the Head, in the inheritance, and in the kingship, and in the priesthood; assessors also to Him in the judgment of the universe as appears from S. Matt. xxv., "inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the *least* of *these* My *brethren*, ye did it unto Me," where "these" seems to point to membership

in the same brotherhood to which the assessors belong. May not *the least* denote lowest ?

1 Cor. x. 16. "The cup of the blessing," pronounced by Christ in His institution of the Sacrament, "which we bless," is it not communion in the blood of Christ," *i.e.* the means of communion ? The keyword "communion" does not mean communication in the active sense, nor participation. Nowhere in the New Testament, nor, apparently, elsewhere, has the word either of these meanings. It almost invariably means "fellowship," or "communion"—both the same —occasionally taking the more concrete sense of "community" or "society." Even where it seems to denote "contribution" (Rom. xv. 26), it does not properly signify "communication," but keeps its primary sense of "fellowship," which, with the addition of the circumstantial meaning, amounts to the "expression of fellow-feeling" in the form of alms-giving. See above.

2 Cor. vi. 14. "And what communion hath light with darkness ?"

2 Cor. viii. 4. "The grace and the fellowship of the ministry which is to the saints." "Fellowship" does not here mean merely "participation," but "making or having common cause." There appears to be always at the root of the meaning in New Testament of "fellowship" the idea of Christian communion in some form or other.

2 Cor. ix. 13. "And for (your) liberal distribution unto them and unto all."

2 Cor. xiii. 13. "And the communion of the

Holy Ghost, *i.e.* "fellowship of the Holy Spirit." Communion, the Spirit's gift is a fitting conclusion to a letter addressed to a community agitated by factious strife and jealousy, the Spirit's power promoting the love of man (1 S. John iv. 11), the holy fellowship fostered by the indwelling Spirit.

Gal. ii. 9. "They gave to me and Barnabas right hands of fellowship," the reference being to a personal contract, the right hand most likely being used in some significant gesture.

Eph. iii. 9. "And to make all see what is the fellowship (dispensation) of the mystery, which from all ages hath been hidden." The "fellowship" of the T.R., which has the slenderest possible authority, must give way to the "dispensation" of the R.V.

Phil. i. 5. "For your fellowship in the Gospel." The author thanks God that "from the first day" of their conversion to the faith they have been moved to sympathetic co-operation towards the furtherance of the Gospel. At the first glance, "fellowship" seems to refer to their mutual fellowship and harmony as Christians. A closer examination reveals that this whole passage is concerned with S. Paul's personal relation to them. So "fellowship" anticipates "partaking jointly" (ver. 7), and will mean their common participation with S. Paul in spreading the Gospel. This really includes the idea of united action on the one hand, and the concrete expression of their helpfulness, their gift to the Apostle, on the other. Professor

Hort ("Christian Ecclesia," p. 44) shows that there is something concrete in the "fellowship" of Acts ii. 42. The same is true of Rom. xv. 26; 2 Cor. ix. 13; Heb. xiii. 16.

Phil. ii. 1. "If any fellowship of the Spirit." The community of believers is the body of Christ. The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, is the unifying principle of life. S. Paul rendered an unspeakable service to the Church by emphasing this conception. By so doing he saved the exuberant spiritual gifts of the Apostolic age from degenerating into mere unnatural excitement. All these came to be estimated according to their value for the community of believers as a whole.

Phil. iii. 10. "And the fellowship of His sufferings." The deepest secrets of S. Paul's Christian experience are revealed in the passage (1) The power of Christ's resurrection, (2) The fellowship of His sufferings, conformity to His death.

Philem. 6. "That the communication of thy faith." The "communication" here mentioned consisted in giving, making the poor saints partakers of practical beneficence and liberality.

Hebrews xiii. 16. Vulg.: "Of well-doing and of fellowship. "But to do good and to communicate, forget not." Bp. Westcott says "the general word for kindly service is followed by that which expresses specially the help of alms." The two nouns form a compound idea. Compare 2 Cor. ix, 13, *Didache* iv. 8. The meaning is to impart of our earthly store to those that are in need, *i.e.* distribution, arising out of "fellowship."

1 S. John i. 3. "That ye also may have fellowship with us." Fellowship denotes commerce and society in the same Faith, Religion, and Church, where all partake of the same sacraments.

1 S. John i. 6. "If we say that we have fellowship with Him." One blessed result of the reception of the Incarnate God is fellowship with, communion with, the Church.

1 S. John i. 7. But if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, "we have fellowship one with another," which some of the ancient Greek writers explain as "the mutual intercommunion of ourselves and of Him who is the Light" (Theophyl., Œcumen.). Bengel, however, "it does not seem that the expression can be fitly used of God and man."

Any consideration of the above passages, with the appended notes, will show that there is always the idea of "fellowship" or "communion" underlying the Greek equivalent, even when it bears the meaning of "distribution" or alms-giving.

USE OF COMMUNION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LORD'S SUPPER.

As we have already noted, the word Communion is used with reference to the Lord's Supper in the sense of "participation" or "communion" in 1 Cor. x. 16. Similarly S. Chrysostom uses it "Homil." x. in Johannem "the spiritual and dread participation in the mysteries." *Idem* "Homil." i., tome v., Paris, 1718, p. 19, "Let us be diligent in nothing so much as to be cleansed from anger; knowing that neither prayer, nor alms, nor fasting nor participation in the mysteries can protect us in that day."

But communion is also used of the Lord's Supper as a "participation" or "communion," because (*a*) of our union spiritually with Christ; and (*b*) of the union of the faithful among themselves.

(*a*) Theophylact writes, "concerning the eucharistic bread," p. 244: "participation in the body of Christ; in place of "as that body is united with Christ, so we also are united to Him by means of this Bread." And as illustrative of this *cf.* Basilius M. epistola viii. §4, p. 83: "We eat His flesh and drink His blood, becoming partakers through the incarnation and the realised life of the Logos and of Wisdom;—for He called all His mystical indwelling "flesh and blood," and made clear (or promulgated) the instruction composed (or consisting in) the active and natural and religious teaching by which the soul is nourished, and trained meanwhile to speculate on the absolute verities."

(*b*) Union of the faithful among themselves. Dionysius Areopagita Eccles. Hierarch., cap. iii., contemplat iii., p. 244, "excellently explains how that Feast becomes the symbol of our holy mutual love and communion.

The God-bestowed, he says, and given-to-all, and peaceful distribution of one and the same bread and cup adjudges to them a divine similarity with those of the same character, and introduces them to the holy memorial of the most divine Supper, and chief token of the consummated mysteries."

S. Augustine, tractatus xxvi in Joh. caput vi. and Epist. LIX ad Paulinum, says, in S. Paul's words (1 Cor. x. 17), "For we being many are one bread and one body," and exclaims "O pledge of love! O symbol of unity! O bond of charity! He who desires life finds

where and whence to obtain it. Let Him approach; let him exercise faith; let him be united to the body; let him be raised to life."

(*c*) Because it not only unites us with Christ, but also makes us again partakers of His kingdom. So Isidore of Pelusium, I epist. CCXXVIII. "The participation in the divine mysteries is called 'communion,' because it freely grants us union with Christ, and makes us partakers of His Kingdom."

(*d*) Because all are made partakers of it. Pachymeres remarks in Cap. III. Areopagitae de Eccles. Hierarch. p. 265, that the Lord's Supper is called Communion, because all those worthy of the mysteries then partake of them. Chrysostom also, in "Homil," LI. tome. v., p. 349: "The same table, the same cup, the same food, is offered to all that enter here."

VIEWS OF THE DOCTRINE CONVEYED BY THE ARTICLE.

Taking, therefore, the Genitive in "the Communion of Saints" as subjective, which, it seems, we may fairly do, there come to be three views as to the Doctrine conveyed by the Article of the Creed:

I. That which has been already dealt with, which would take "of Saints" as Neuter, (*i.e.* of "holy things,") and which appears in no respect to satisfy the requirements of the language of the Clause.

II. That which would limit the teaching of the phrase to fellowship between members of the Church still on earth.

III. That which takes the Article to mean the fellowship as existing between the members of the Church Militant here on earth and the faithful departed.

EXPLANATION OF THE VIEWS.

The second view seems to have come to the front about 400 A.D., and in the Church of Africa. It was the time when the Donatists were attempting to decry the Church in which a "communion of evil persons," as they asserted, was not only permitted but enforced. They asked, using S. Paul's words, "What communion hath light with darkness?" *vide* Augustine c. ep. Parmenian ii. 37, and compare de bapt. c. Donatist, ii, 8, v. 38 (*ad finem*), vii. 49, "They argue that the good perish, as by a contagion, in the association with the evil." Augustine replied that the Church was a mixed body, in so far as that in the Catholic Church the evil were mingled with the good; yet there was a true "Communion of Saints" within her fold which is not to be impaired by the presence of the evil, and in which they have no part. The idea may be, therefore, due to Augustine. It did not, however, claim a place in the African Creed, or in any Creed, until after his death.

Leaving this view as being both limiting and limited, and one which is not adopted by any single one of the old commentators on the Creed, we arrive at the third view, which takes the Article to mean a communion or fellowship as existing spiritually between the members of the Church Militant here on earth and the faithful departed, as well as with their Divine Head. This view of the meaning is strictly in accordance with the teaching of Nicetas of Remesiana (of whose connection with this Article we shall see more hereafter) and of Faustus of Riez. Plain scriptural authority also on this view of the doctrine is not lacking, *e.g.* Hebrew xii. 22, 23: "But

ye are come . . . to the spirits of just men made perfect."

REFORMATION AUTHORITIES.

Some different interpretations are found in the Churches of the Reformation. The following have been collected by Dr. Moule, Bishop of Durham, in the article written by him in the "Protestant Dictionary," page 125:

MARTIN LUTHER.

Luther (see Köstlin in Herzog-Plitt, *Real. Encyclopadie, s.v. Apostolisches Symbolum*) interpreted the Clause as if strictly expository of the previous Clause, the Holy Church. He explained communion to mean the Christian *community* (Gemeinde der Heiligen), and to teach distinctively that all blessings in it are common property. It is at least very doubtful whether the word Communion can historically bear this meaning; certainly its proper reference is not to a body of participants but to the participation enjoyed by such a body. With Luther many of the "Reformed" theologians agree, though they add a more explicit reference to the doctrine that the elect alone constitute the true Church.

CALVIN.

Calvin (Inst. iv. 1, 3) deals carefully with the Clause, and gives the right reference to Communion: "Every-one of us must maintain brotherly concord with all the sheep of the flock, give due authority to the Church, and, in short, conduct ourselves as sheep of the flock. Hence the additional expression, 'The Communion of Saints'; for this Clause, though usually omitted by ancient writers, must not be overlooked, as it admirably

expresses the quality of the Church; just as if it had been said that saints are united in the fellowship of Christ on this condition, that all the blessings which God bestows on them are mutually communicated to each other. . . . If they are truly persuaded that God is the common Father of them all, and Christ their common Head, they cannot but be united together in brotherly love, and mutually impart their blessings to one another. . . . In the very term, communion, there is great consolation; because, while we are assured that everything which God bestows on His members belongs to us, all the blessings conferred on them confirm our hope."

THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

The Heidelberg Catechism takes much the same view, as might be expected. The question (55), "What understandest thou by the Communion of Saints?" is answered thus: "First, that believers, all and several, have communion in Christ and all His blessings, as His members; then that each member is bound promptly and gladly to contribute the blessings he has received to the common good, and to the salvation (Heil, salus) of all."

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

The Westminster Confession, xxvi., reads as follows: "Of the Communion of Saints." "All Saints that are united to Jesus Christ their Head, by his Spirit and by faith, have fellowship with Him in His graces, sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory; and, being united to one another in love, they have communion in each other's gifts and graces, and are obliged to the performance of such duties, public and private, as do conduce to their

mutual good, both in the inward and outward man. II. Saints by profession are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God; and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification; as also in relieving each other in outward things according to their several abilities and necessities. Which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus. III. This communion which the saints have with Christ, doth not make them in any wise partakers of the substance of His Godhead, or to be equal with Christ in any respect: either of which to affirm is impious and blasphemous. Nor doth their communion, one with another, as Saints, take away or infringe the title or propriety which each man hath in goods and possessions."

SUMMARY OF VIEWS AND THE DOCTRINE DEDUCED.

A.—FELLOWSHIP OF FAITH.

It may be stated, then, that the Saints in the Church of Christ have communion, first with God the Father, *cf.* 1 S. John i. 3: "and truly our fellowship is with the Father." As we are the branches of the vine, so the Father is the husbandman; and thus the Saints enjoy His care and protection. The Saints have communion, too, with God the Son, *cf. ibid*, "and with His Son, Jesus Christ." And our Saviour prayed for all such as should "believe on Him through the word of the Apostles, that they might be one, as the Father is one in Him, and He in the Father, that they also might be one in both": *cf.* S. John xvii. 20, 21, 23. Further, the Saints have communion with the Holy Ghost, *cf.* Phil. ii.

1. "If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit," meaning that there is; and also, *cf.* 2 Cor. xiii. 14: "and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all," where he prays devoutly for it. The Communion with the Father and the Son is wrought by the communication of the Spirit. And besides this Communion of the Saints of God in Christ's Church with the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, they have communion also with the Holy Angels: *e.g.* at the Annunciation; the carrying of the soul of Lazarus to Abraham's bosom; the Lord's agony; the opening of the prison doors and bringing the Apostles out. The angels have a distinct feeling as to our condition, *cf.* S. Luke xv. 10: "Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." The angels, too, who are the messengers of God, are also called the angels of men, *cf.* S. Matt. xviii. 10: "for I say unto you, that their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

Moreover, leaving this spiritual fellowship, the Saints in Christ's Church on earth have communion with those who are truly Saints. As Bp. Pearson has well put it: "The tares have the privilege of the field as well as the wheat; and the bad fish of the net, as well as the good. The Saints have communion with hypocrites in all things with which the distinction of a Saint and hypocrite can consist. . . . Thus the Saints may communicate with the wicked, so they communicate not with their wickedness, and may have fellowship with sinners, so they have no fellowship with that which makes them such, *i.e.* their sins. . . . To communicate with sin, is

sin ; but to communicate with a sinner in that which is not sin, can be no sin."

The Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, moreover, have communion with all the Saints in the same Church. "If we walk in the light, we have fellowship one with another. And they have also communion with all the Saints departed this life in the faith and fear of God, and admitted to His presence, *cf.* Heb. xii. 22–24. "But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel." The Communion of Saints on earth in the Church of Christ with those which are departed is proved by their Communion with the Saints in this life. For fellowship with a Saint of God, as such, on earth, continues after death ; because that communion cannot be removed by death. "For the true and unfeigned holiness," which is the work of the powerful influence of the Spirit of God, not only remains, but is made more perfect after death. This inner holiness was the bond of communion and fellowship between such Saints in their life. And they cannot be said to be separated by death, which has no power over the sanctity which united them.

THE FELLOWSHIP IS ONE OF INTEREST, HOPE, PRAYER, AND WORK.

And this Fellowship, moreover, is also one, not only of Interest and Hope in the eventual triumph of Christ's

Church, shared by all, both living and dead, but also a Fellowship of Prayer, as well as, in the case of those on earth, of Work. It is a Fellowship undoubtedly of Interest and Hope in the eventual triumph of Christ's Church. This is borne out by S. Paul, *cf.* 1 Cor. iv. 9. "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." On this passage, Bp. Lightfoot remarks ("Cambridge Sermons," p. 109) that S. Paul is comparing the career of the Apostles to a scene in a Roman amphitheatre. The Apostle is imagining a vast concourse collected together from all ages and climes, dwellers on earth and denizens in heaven; the whole universe of sentient beings in one countless multitude to witness the spectacle prepared for them. Others have fought in the same arena. But now the *interest* in the combat is intensified, the climax is reached, as they (the Apostles) step forth at last, as it seemed, naked and defenceless, to do battle with the gladiators of the world, or to grapple with the fierce monsters of ignorance and sin at the Almighty President's word. Then, indeed, this vast amphitheatre is instinct with eager expectation. The eyes of all are bent down on the impending struggle. It is a fearful ordeal to fight against such antagonists, to fight thus unarmed, to fight under the gaze of this multitudinous throng. *Cf.* also 1 Cor. xv. 32, ff., where the Apostle recurs to the same imagery. There seems clearly Hope and Interest shown by those who are no longer on earth in the Church Militant here.

And, again, as regards this Fellowship of Hope, we find S. Paul referring to it very plainly in Col. i. 4, 5:

" The love which ye have to all the saints, for the hope which is laid up for you in heaven." The binding power of this hope constitutes most true fellowship. This is the real point of the verse. The true translation of the Greek is, " *because of* the hope." The " for " of our Authorized Version is, perhaps, somewhat misleading ; as lending itself to the meaning, " with a view to attain it," whereas the true sense is, " on account of its existence," because of its " bright reality." And if we ask what this hope is, we need not go outside this letter of the Apostle to the Colossians. It is clearly stated. It was the hope of being presented at the last day, " holy and unblameable and unreprovable in His sight " (Col. i. 22) ; the hope of " the Gospel," the glad message of salvation in Christ (Col. i. 27) ; the glorious hope of " the things above " (Col. iii. 1). In this hope of the Colossian Epistle, Christ was everything. As has been well written, " He filled the prospect, He *was* the prospect." Christ, the hope of the Colossians, was already their life ; for their hope was built on Him, it wholly looked for Him. And this hope was not for them only one by one. It was for all of them, and for others also, " when Christ, who is *our* Life, shall appear " (Col. iii. 3), and " the love which ye have to *all the saints*, for the hope which is laid up for *you* in heaven " (Col. i. 4, 5), *i.e.* for you all. One great item in the general rejoicing was to be this fact : It was to be a universal gathering together, as the Apostle writes to the Thessalonians, " *our* gathering together unto Him " (2 Thess. ii. 1). Such was the uniting power of this fellowship of hope.

PRAYER AND WORK.

And now to turn to the Fellowship of Prayer, perhaps the strongest because the most spiritual link of fellowship.

That there exists this fellowship, this communion of prayer among all Christians, it is impossible to deny. In that prayer " which Christ Himself hath taught us," for example, we are directed to say, " Our Father," etc., by which we are to understand that we communicate in prayer with all Christendom, being members of one mystical Body of Christ, seeing that it is impossible to prohibit any Christian praying that prayer when alone, or to say that it must only be used when all Christians are gathered together in some one place. We may compare on this point Dion. Areopag., de Eccles. Hierarch., c. 3, op., Ed. Antwerp, 1634, Tom I., p. 282.

And there is another point of view. Christianity is not concerned merely with one section of human life—the affairs of the soul—it has to do with the whole of it. One of the mistakes made by ecclesiastical Christianity as regards genuine religion was that it conveyed the impression that a life lived in a monastic cell was higher and holier than one which mingled itself with the family and the busy centres of the world of thought and labour. No meaning such as this can be found in the fact of Christ. " We must secularise saintship by sanctifying the secular life." *Cf.* S. Ignatius, Ad Ephes. viii., " What you do now even after the flesh, that is spiritual ; for in Christ Jesus you do everything." And whatever other meanings of Christ are open to dispute, or difficult of acceptation, this seems plain at any rate—that the invitation to all to join in the fellowship of saints, and be one

with Him, their Lord and Master and Redeemer, must carry with it a war with sin. And most assuredly this life, this varied, secular life, cannot be lived and at the same time sin be avoided or overcome, and temptation conquered without the use of prayer, prayer which is the safeguard and the bond of fellowship among the saints. Without prayer Christianity becomes a mere doctrine or system; and no mere system or doctrine can support the frail human soul through the ceaseless, subtle, and varied temptations of sin, which meet it everywhere in this life. There must be behind, and in, and through, the whole something *personal*. It has to be ever present to the mind and heart that Christ—the living Personality of our Lord—signifies that God is "really and nearly taking to do with us, very authoritatively, very graciously, very wonderfully." Then our Christian religion becomes a religion of a listening conscience, a wondering spirit, a loving and a contrite heart; and then it is that sin becomes powerless. And this "mutual speaking and hearing between God and the soul," by which Christians are united, finds its expression in that most simple, most wonderful thing—prayer. No one without it can fight against evil. This is still the weapon of the saints, as it has ever been. Christians were taught it by the Master. Take any known besetting sin in our own life. Pray against it. Then one of two things must happen. Either the prayer will destroy the sin, or the sin will destroy the prayer. They cannot exist together. This use or habit forms a link of union between Saints and Christ Jesus their Saviour, a subtle and most powerful bond of fellowship in the constitution of "the Communion of Saints."

And there is the Fellowship of Work. How naturally

does this follow? "To work is to pray." A bond of union among the saints it is, indeed, to serve the Saviour's purposes, whatever they may be, day by day, in trial and in duty. As the Bishop of Durham has well written, the man who is found in Christ is certainly not the man to be disturbed or bewildered in the prospect of death. He belongs already to both worlds, belonging as he does to Him to whom they both belong. For him the things seen and temporal are just the present field of his Master's work, and the things unseen and eternal are but the extension of that vast field into another climate, but under the same Owner, and lighted by the same Sun. So S. Paul's dying advice to Timothy is about his younger fellow-labourer's continued labour. Here we see the *fellowship of work among saints*. The Apostle is dictating, most likely to S. Luke, in the Roman dungeon from which he was to be released only for his martyrdom. S. Paul says nothing about Timothy's death, and the glories that should follow. It is all about Timothy's life and work; and how best he should do, while yet in the body, the work appointed by his Lord. "If a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use and prepared unto every good work" (II. Tim. ii. 21). Here Dr. Moule ("Christ is All," p. 229) notes that the Greek means more precisely "sanctified, hallowed, set apart, *so as to be usable for* the Master." The vessel that is hallowed so as to be usable by Him, *that* is the vessel unto honour. The imagery of the vessel, the σκεῦος, is full of suggestion and instruction. A vessel is a thing which is altogether not its own. Its idea is that of a thing for use, for the use of an agent who is not itself. It

originates nothing, it only carries, conveys, transmits. It is not its own motor. It is carried. It is doubly not its own. It carries what is not itself, for the sake of which it is employed: and it is carried by what is not itself, the Possessor, Who may do what he will with His own, and Who knows what the vessel does not know—His plan and aim in all the carrying. And if, as perhaps we may do, we vary the rendering of "vessel," and let it mean not only the cup, the vase, but the implement—the workman's chisel, the ploughman's shear, the gardener's spade—the import of the metaphor is just the same. The thing is still a thing whose value is in its use, and which has no use apart from the hand that holds it, and which is not itself. And what a pregnant fitness there is in the account given as to the right condition of the vessel, "prepared unto every good work!" For is it not *preparedness* for work as well as the capacity for it that is so necessary? The material of a cup may be perfect—pure silver, or gold, or crystal, or glass. But let two such cups stand on the table, the one clean and the other foul, and into which will the master pour the wine, or the water? The tool may be made of the finest best-tempered steel, but let two such tools lie before the master builder, the one blunt and rusted, the other newly set and ground, and which will he take up at the moment as separated and "prepared" for the work? Just so it is with the vessels of the great House, with the tools of the great Artificer, which are the souls which He has redeemed for His own possession! Alas, that there is such a thing as the genuine Christian found quite unready. And why? Because such may be found out of communion with Christ and engrossed in himself.

It is this *recognition by every saint* of being a "vessel, sanctified, hallowed, set apart, *so as to be usable* for the Master," and "prepared unto every good work," that constitutes the fellowship of work in Christ and goes to complete the true doctrine of "the Communion of Saints." The "Fellowship," or "Communion," of the Article is one of Interest and Hope, of Prayer and Work, together with one of Faith.

THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEAS SUGGESTING THE DOCTRINE WAS NOT PAGAN.

A word or two may not be out of place here with reference to the origin of the fundamental ideas and notions lying at the root of the meaning of the Article. There seem to be three views:

I. If we attribute it to Christianity, whether it be in the theological literature, or in the religious cult of the faith, or in national life, it cannot but be allowed that there are to be found analogies in the philosophy, in the mythology, or in the religious national life, of paganism.

II. Or, while the origin of these fundamental ideas of the Article is purely Christian, resting on the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, pagan elements occur in the speculations of theologians, or can be traced to the development of foreign national customs and their adoption.

III. Or, that the separate manifestations of the doctrine in Christianity have developed themselves independently from the doctrines of pagan religions, so that these latter had no

influence whatever ; and whatever likeness or similarity can be found to exist between them comes from religious life and faith generally in its manifestations among Christians as well as among heathen—such religious life and faith being bound up with characteristics that are common to all human nature alike.

Any of these views, however, being accepted, it cannot be made to fit in with the doctrine of the Article, as we have been considering and enunciating its meaning in these pages. As we endeavour to let this real meaning in all its fulness of significance dwell in the mind, there cannot, I think, but arise a firm mental conviction of the absolute independence as to its origin and basis from any pagan teaching and custom of the beautiful Article of our faith, " the Communion of Saints."

PART II.

HISTORY OF THE CLAUSE.

NICETAS OF REMESIANA.

THE earliest mention of the clause, "the Communion of Saints," known, is in an *Explanatio Symboli*, which is assigned to Nicetas, who is generally taken to be the Nicetas of Remesiana. The passage runs thus: "After confessing the Blessed Trinity, thou dost profess thy belief in the Holy Catholic Church. What is the Church but the company of all Saints?" (He here quotes Col. i. 20.) "Therefore in this One Church believe that thou shalt obtain the Communion of Saints." Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anecdota i., pp. 355 ff. Similarly the sermon (241) in the appendix to S. Augustine explains the clause as the result of the holiness of the Church and of her common faith. Sermon 241 P.L. Migne xxxix. 2191: "There follows 'the Communion of Saints.' Believing therefore in the Holy Catholic Church and holding the Communion of Saints (for where there is holy faith, there also is holy fellowship) you must needs also believe in the resurrection of the body and remission of sins."

Now, of this Nicetas, Gennadius, "On famous men": ed. Czapla, Münster, 1898, S. 56, Cap. xxii., writes as

follows: "Nicias, Bishop of the city Remesiana, wrote in simple and clear language six small books of instructions for candidates for baptism. . . . The third book is on faith in the unity of the Divine Majesty: the fourth against astrology: *the fifth on the Creed*: the sixth on the immolation of the paschal lamb."

FRIEND OF PAULINUS OF NOLA.

He seems, too, to have been a friend of Paulinus of Nola, who writes of him thus: * "The venerable and most learned bishop Nicetas, who came from Dacia, to be deservedly admired by the Romans, and is extolled by very many saints of God, whom also I have the satisfaction of having introduced to public notice." (Paul. Nol., Ep. xxix. 14, Migne P.L. lxi. col. 321.) Nicetas visited Paulinus of Nola also in 398 A.D., and in 402 A.D. Paulinus, moreover, addressed two poems to him.

DATE.

With reference to Paulinus of Nola, Gennadius makes a statement, and we obtain like information from Paulinus' letters and poems, which enables us to arrive at the date of Nicetas of Remesiana with more or less preciseness. He writes: "Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania, wrote verses, many short poems, and one to Celsus. . . He was eminent in the time of Honorius and Valentinian, not only for his learning and saintliness, but also for his power against demons.". . . "Claruit temporibus Honorii et Valentiniani non solum eruditione et sanctitate vitae, sed et potentia adversum daemones" (P.L. lviii.

* We give the general sense of this passage.

Gennadius, Caput xlviii.). The Emperor Honorius reigned from 395 A.D. to 423 A.D., and Valentinian III. 425 A.D. to 455 A.D. It has been conjectured, and with a fair amount, it would seem, of probability, that Nicetas of Remesiana lived *circa* 370 A.D. to 420 A.D.

OCCURRENCE IN NICETAS' SERMON.

Turning to the passage in the sermon in which Nicetas uses the words of the clause "Communion of Saints," the question arises, are the words merely part of the explanation of the Creed which he is giving in the sermon, or is he quoting them from a Creed then in use and known ?

On reading the context carefully I venture to think that he is quoting from a definite Creed. And this for two reasons : (*a*) Because he uses the exact wording which we find adopted in the formularies of the Church, which I cannot but think would be, if he were not quoting, to say the least, a curious coincidence ; and (*b*) because of the general turn of the language used, and the way in which the words "Communion of Saints" are brought in.

Supposing, then, that the words are a quotation of the Article as occurring in a Creed of his (Nicetas') day, we may well place the true date ot its occurrence distinctly earlier. A case in point would be the Creed in the Athelstan Psalter, ninth century according to Heurtley, or possibly even later, which is almost verbally the same as that of Marcellus of Ancyra, of the fourth century.

PROFESSOR HARNACK'S SUGGESTIONS.

It has been suggested by Harnack, in his article on the Creed in the third edition of the Hauck-Herzog Real Encyclopädie, that the phrase and its use is due to

Nicetas' acquaintance with the Catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem; and really owes its origin to S. Cyril. He does not think that it is likely that the words as found in Nicetas' sermon are anything but a portion of his explanation of the Creed.

FAUSTUS OF RIEZ.

Professor Harnack has also another suggestion, which is, that as the clause occurs in the Creed of Faustus of Riez, *circa* 460 A.D. (which he would consider as their first appearance in a Creed), as reconstructed from that author's "On the Holy Ghost," and his two Homilies on the Creed, it obtained its place in the Church of Southern Gaul because of the prevalence of the so-called

HERESY OF VIGILANTIUS

who was a monk in S. Jerome's monastery at Bethlehem, and who, having made his way into France, preached there against the veneration of the relics of the saints. The phrase is found in Faustus of Riez in his "On the Holy Ghost," Liber I., Caput 2, ed. Engelbrecht, Corp. Script. eccl. Lat. xxi. 104: "Those sentences which come next in the Creed after the mention of the Holy Spirit, belong in the end of the Creed, and are without the preposition: such as, Holy Church, Communion of Saints: remission of sins: resurrection of the flesh: everlasting life, so that we must believe them in God; that is, let us confess that these matters are arranged by God, and stand fast in Him."

DENIAL THAT THE SAINTS IN GLORY PRAYED FOR THE LIVING.

Vigilantius denied that the Saints in glory prayed for the living. And this Article of the Communion of

Saints is said to have been intended to refute this denial. This argument seems to have been put forward with a fair amount of probability. For certainly it appears that Vigilantius was most active in teaching his tenets in Southern Gaul and in Spain.

DR. CASPARI'S COLLECTED EVIDENCE.

In proof of this, much evidence has been collected by Caspari, whose references I have tested, and which I give again here, venturing to correct what seems to be a printer's error in the name Riparius the Presbyter, which is given in "alte und neue Quellen" as Ripuarius. This evidence consists in the following passages:—Hier. ctr. Vig. c. 1, Migne, vol. xxiii., col. 355: "There arose suddenly (in Gaul) Vigilantius, or rather Dormitantius, to fight in an unclean spirit against Christ's spirit, and to deny that the tombs of the martyrs should be venerated."

Hier ctr. Vig. c. 4, Migne, vol. xxiii., col. 357: "What need is there that with so great reverence thou shouldest not only honour but even adore that something or other which thou cherishest in a little pot to be carried about?" And again in the same book, "Why dost thou adoringly kiss dust wrapped up in a cloth?" And in what follows, "After the fashion of the heathen, we see something brought into the Churches under colour of devotion: crowds of tapers lit while the sun is shining brightly, and everywhere they adore with kisses a little dust swathed in costly linen in a little casket. Such men forsooth greatly honour the most blessed martyrs, who, they imagine are glorified by their worthless tapers, but whom the Lamb who is in the

midst of the Throne glorifies with all the brightness of His own majesty."

And further from S. Jerome's writings as follows: "Thou sayest that Vigilantius (so called for euphony's sake, for he would more suitably be dubbed Dormitantius), is again opening his foul mouth, and uttering his loathsome filth against the relics of the holy martyrs: calling us who gather them up collectors and idolators of ashes, as venerating (*i.e.* Subjunctive) the bones of dead men." Hier. Ep. 109 ad Riparium Presbyterum c.i., col. 907: "I wonder that the holy bishop, in whose diocese he is said to be a presbyter, tolerates his madness, and does not shatter the useless vessel with the apostolical and iron rod; delivering him over to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved." Hier. Ep. 109, ad Riparium c. 2, col. 907. "The holy presbyters Riparius and Desiderius are the authors of this little dictation of mine,—and they affirm that some are found to encourage his errors and favour his blasphemies." Hier. ctr. Vig. c. 3, col. 341: "They should also flee from contact with him, as the Samaritans, and Jews, and all heretics deal with us;—such as have swarmed in Gaul under their hare-brained leader (Vigilantius), who, despising churches dedicated to the martyrs, flee from us who according to custom pray in them, as unclean." Hier., Comment in Is. Liber xviii., cap 65, col. 633: "O marvel to be carried to the ends of the earth! Dost thou make merry, Vigilantius, concerning the relics of martyrs, and with Eunomius, the founder of this heresy, dost thou heap up (scatter) thy reproaches upon the churches of Christ, and art not afraid in such company to utter the same taunts against us as he does

against the Church? For all his followers enter the churches of the Apostles and martyrs, that, forsooth, they may adore the dead Eunomius, whose books they consider to have more authority than the Gospels." Hier. ctr. Vig. cap. 8, col. 347: "And thou hearest him say, 'dost thou not know what it is that thou honourest in a little pot to be carried about?' (See above). 'I wish to know what it is. Explain it more clearly (Vigilantius), that thou mayest blaspheme to thy heart's content.' And, 'thou believest it to be dead, and therefore thou blasphemest.'" Hier. ctr. Vig. cap. 5, col. 343: Faustus of Riez in Hom. II. de Symbolo, under Communion of Saints, writes on the point: "Let us venerate the saints for the glory of God; . . . Let us honour in the saints their fear and love of God; . . . let us honour their worthy deeds; . . . they should worthily . . . be held in veneration." With which we may compare the following:—"The saints are not a part of the Divine Essence; but the saints evidently share the Divine nature. . . . In the saints there is not the Divine Essence, but a share of the Divine nature. Whatever of God they share, comes from divine grace, and not naturally. Let us venerate in the saints the fear and love of God, not His Divine Nature. Let us venerate their graces;—not what they have by nature, but those which they have deservedly attained by their piety." (Faustus von Reji, Homilie II., uber des Symbol ed. Caspari Kirchin Historische Anecdoda I., p. 338.) And also this expression of opinion from S. Jerome: "But we worship and adore, I do not say the relics of martyrs,—but not even the sun and moon, or angels, or archangels, or Cherubim, or Seraphim, or any name that is named

both in the present age and in the future one (Ephes. i. 21) that we serve not the creature rather than the Creator, Who is blessed for ever. We honour, however, the relics of martyrs, to the end that we adore Him whose witnesses they are. We honour the servants, that the honour we pay them may rebound to their Lord, Who says, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth Me.' (S. Matt. x. 40)." Hier. Ephes. 109, ad Riparium, cap 1, col. 907. :

RESTRICTION OF THE TERM "SAINT" TO MARTYRS.

And in both these districts a restricted sense of the term "Saint," confining it mainly to the Martyrs, but applying it also, though only, to the *departed* faithful, was being very generally accepted. The Article with this interpretation afforded excellent ground for the teaching of doctrine concerning the holy dead. Caspari, in his Kirchenhistorische Anecdota I., sections xvi., xvii. (Faustus of Riez), gives two homilies, probably by Fautus of Riez. In the second of these (p. 338) there occurs the following passage:—"Let us also believe the Communion of Saints, but let us honour the saints, not so much from their participation of God, as for the glory of God. The saints are not part of God, but He is clearly shown to be part of the saints. How so? because what they are, they receive from His brightness and likeness; for in the saints there is not the Divine Essence, but there is a share in God. For whatever share of God they possess is by divine grace, and not a natural character. Let us honour in the saints their fear and love of God, not His Deity. Let us honour their virtues, which they have not of themselves, but

which they have deservedly received in answer to their prayers. And so they should justly be honoured since by despising death they commend to us the worship of God, and the desire for the life to come."

But in Dr. Caspari's "alte und neue Quellen," "tractatus S. Faustini de symbolo," p. 273, we find much less temperate language: "We next pass to 'the Communion of Saints.' This belief convicts those who blasphemously deny that the ashes of saints and friends of God should be held in honour, as not believing that the glorious memory of the blessed martyrs should be honoured by reverence paid to the sacred places of their burial. They are disingenuous in respect to the Creed, and lied to Christ at the font; and by this unbelief opened a place for death in the very bosom of life, where, according to the Creed, full remission is obtained." Such extreme language, however, soon disappears. But this later meaning attributed to the article was supported by the tendency of the age. Compare, for instance, a homily on the Creed, falsely assigned to S. Augustine, Sermo 242, P.L. Migne. xxxix. 2193: "The 'Communion of Saints,' —that is,—We may be included in association and common hope with those saints who have died in the faith which we have received." And again in Sermo 242 we find "'Communion of Saints':—because the gifts of the Holy Spirit, though different in individuals in this life, will yet be common to all in eternity; so that in whatever virtue each saint was deficient, he may share that of others." P.L. Migne xxxix. 2189.

ALTERNATIVES AS TO FIRST OCCURRENCE OF THE CLAUSE.

Here, however, the question of the first occurrence of the Clause must be left. It lies, apparently, between the two possibilities as to whether Nicetas of Remesiana is *quoting* when he uses the words in his sermon containing an explanation of the Creed ; or whether the first occurrence of the phrase as a part of a definite formulary of the faith is to be set down to the Creed of Faustus of Riez.

TESTIMONY OF S. AUGUSTINE.

The Clause seems unknown to S. Augustine. It is not found in his Sermon "on faith and the Creed" nor in his Sermon "on Time." Moreover, he writes in his Encheiridion (S. Aug : Enchir. 64) : "Remission of sins expressed in the Creed. The life of saints is without crime, though not without sin. For even now the angels are united in heart with us when our sins are forgiven. So after the mention of Holy Church in order of our confession is placed the remission of sins." The truth is, however, that, S. Augustine would have probably found it most difficult to define what he meant by it had he used the phrase. He never seems to have effected a synthesis between his working idea, so to speak, of the Catholic Church, and his doctrine of grace. He held that there is on earth a visible Church of Christ containing good and bad, elect and non-elect ; "had not both been called, both justified from amongst the wicked ?" (de corrept et Grat. ix. 21), and there are also a number, unalterably known to God, of those predestined to life (*cf.* de corrept. et. Grat. xiii. 39). "So verily . . . not one is added to them, nor

taken from them;" 40, "a number foreordained"; 42, "that number is assured and most blessed," some within the Church, some outside it. Which of these two bodies, which we may call, for distinction's sake, the communion outside and the communion of Saints, is, in the great Father's opinion, the real Church identifiable with the Kingdom of Christ on earth? The question is a difficult and very real one.

LIST OF THE VARIOUS CREEDS, NOTING WHERE CLAUSE OCCURS.

We will next take the various Creeds, and trace the occurrence or non-occurrence in them of the Article we are examining.

The first evidence we have is that of S. Irenaeus. He unites East and West together. By birth and education he belonged to Asia Minor; afterwards, settling at Lyons, he became Bishop of the city. He is the earliest writer who has preserved to us anything approaching a formal Creed. Christianity in Gaul was first established at Lyons and Vienne, and owed its introduction directly to the East. There are three passages which may be taken to contain notices of the Creed in S. Irenaeus' great work. In no *one* of them do we get the precise and complete form. Rather in all do we find portions of the actual Creed. His work was written while Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome, *i.e.* A.D. 171–185. The phrase does not occur.

Tertullian. Carthage. Converted to Christianity probably *circa* A.D. 192. The Creed occurs three times in his works. He wrote A.D. 186 to A.D. 218. The clause is not found.

S. Cyprian gives us scanty fragments of the Creed. He belonged to the Carthaginian Church ; was converted *circa* A.D. 246, and martyred A.D. 258. The clause does not occur.

Novatian, a Presbyter of Rome, *circa* A.D. 260. Scanty fragments of a Creed, among which there is no mention of this Article.

Marcellus of Ancyra, in Galatia, and afterwards Bishop of the city. He gives us the earliest complete Creed. It belongs to the Western Church, though he was an Oriental. The phrase, however, is not contained in it.

Rufinus, a Presbyter of Aquileia. He notes discrepancies between the Creed of his own Church and that of the Church of Rome. He was baptised A.D. 369, and died about A.D. 410. We get from him the Roman Creed of his day as well as the Aquileian. The phrase, however, is not found.

S. Augustine, like S. Cyprian and Tertullian, belonged to the Church of N.W. Africa. He was baptised A.D. 387 (aged thirty-three years). Presbyter, A.D. 390. Became Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Numidia, A.D. 395 He died August 28, A.D. 430. The Creed occurs several times in his writings, and in those which have been acsribed to him, and are usually associated with his works. In his genuine writings, however, the Creed is not found in continuity. The Article does not occur at all in any of them.

Petrus Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna. Born A.D. 406, died *c.* A.D. 450. He wrote about two hundred sermons, six being short expositions of the Creed. The phrase is not found.

S. Leo the Great. A fragment of the Creed is preserved

in his letter to Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, dated June 13, A.D. 449. The clause is not found.

Maximus Taurinensis, Bishop of Turin. He was present at the Council at Rome, A.D. 465. He wrote a number of sermons, one being an exposition of the Creed. The clause is not found.

Facundus Hermianensis, Bishop of Hermiana, in N.W. Africa, A.D. 547. Gives a formulary in his Letter of the Catholic Faith in defence of three sections. The clause does not occur.

Venantius Fortunatus was born and educated in North Italy, and still lived in A.D. 600. He became Bishop of Poictiers. He wrote commentaries on the Apostles' Creed and on the Creed of S. Athanasius, which latter is said to be the earliest record of that document that has come down to us, though there is contradictory evidence. It seems clear that he was familiar with Rufinus' exposition. The Article is not mentioned.

Ennarratio Pseudo-Athanasiana. The country and date of this formulary are uncertain. It is from a commentary on this Creed falsely ascribed to S. Athanasius. This Creed is probably of great antiquity. The manuscript has lost some of the leaves; hence its (the formulary's) mutilated state. The phrase is not found.

Eusebius Gallus. A formulary gathered from two expository homilies which, with several other sermons usually found with them, have been ascribed to various authors, amongst others being Faustus of Riez. After examination of the uniformity of the style it may be concluded that they are the work of a single writer. That being so, Dr. Heurtley states it as his opinion that

this one author must have written subsequently to the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, because it is clearly evident in them that the heresy of Eutyches was prevalent in the West, which it scarcely could have been at any earlier date. Moreover, it seems plain that their author belonged to the Western and not to the Eastern Church. And, further, it may be distinctly gathered that the author had been Abbot of Lerins, and was afterwards appointed a Bishop in the province of Arles. All which facts point apparently conclusively to Faustus of Riez as being their author. And it may, in addition, be adduced that the semi-pelagian views found in certain passages contained in some of the sermons go strongly to support this inference, as Faustus was beyond doubt a holder of such views. Now, if Faustus be the author, he was appointed, as we know, to be Bishop of Riez, A.D. 475. And he appears still to have been living in A.D. 494. So that the date of this formulary may be stated as about the close of the fifth century. It is much to be regretted that, so far as our present knowledge goes, the date cannot be fixed more exactly; for the point is most interesting; as this Creed collected from these homilies and sermons approaches more nearly to our own Creed of the present day than any with which we have yet met; and, indeed, than any of which we know until the middle of the seventh century, nearly two hundred years later. In it both the third and sixth Articles stand as in our Creed of to-day; and, moreover, it is here in this formulary that we first find the clause we are investigating, "the Communion of Saints."

Up to this point the Creeds have been obtained from the works of writers who are well known almost without

exception. Their age and country have been, therefore, easily and accurately decided. Henceforward, however, a source is opened out to us, in using which the date is not so easily and so precisely obtainable. The Creed is from this point met with in manuscripts that are still extant, sometimes in a detached form and without any connection with the other contents of the manuscript; at others in Baptismal Offices or in offices preparatory to baptism; at others again together with the Lord's Prayer and the hymns used in the Church's service (the Te Deum and others) at the end of the Psalters.

One of the earliest of these manuscript Creeds is found in a detached form at the end of the famous copy of the Acts of the Apostles given by Archbishop Laud to the University of Oxford and preserved in the Bodleian Library. Under Codex E., Codex Laudianus, the date of which is universally given as late sixth century, Scrivener, in his Introduction to the "New Testament Criticism," p. 170, Ed. 4, seems to imply that this Creed, appended in *Latin* with other things to a Greco-Latin manuscript, is of later date than the rest of the manuscript. The date has been variously stated by the most competent judges as the eighth century, and the seventh or eighth century, and the seventh century. It has been stated, and apparently with fairly reasonable probability, to be the copy used by Bede, who died A.D. 735, and who wrote his retractations after A.D. 731. The country to which this Creed belongs is not known; and the clause is not found in it.

We now come to the Creeds found in ancient Sacramentaries. These begin to appear about the middle of

the seventh century, and in forms almost identical with our own.

A Sacramentary was first published by Mabillon, from a manuscript which he found at Bobio, in North Italy, and which he thought was written about the middle of the seventh century. It contains three creeds; one of these, the last, being appended without connection with what goes before. The second is the Declaration Creed delivered to the Catechumens preparatory for baptism. It is given in Migne P.L. lxxii. Appendix ad opera sancti Germani Parisiensis de liturgia Gallicana Liber III. xi. 339, *ad fin* and 340. "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, (340) the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, the life everlasting, Amen." An exposition then follows commencing, "The Creed, beloved brethren, is not written on tables; but, learnt by heart, it is retained in the heart. And therefore it is helpful to repeat what ought never to be forgotten," and then going through the various articles.

A second Sacramentary, first published by Thomasius, and republished both by Mabillon and by Muratori, is most likely of a later date. It has three Creeds, and is assigned to the eighth century. The first of these Creeds agrees in all respects with the formula just given; even having "only begotten, everlasting"; while the second agrees with the Creed of our own day, and includes "the Communion of Saints," though it has peculiarities, reading "Conqueror to heaven. . . . I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints," etc. It seems justifiable to infer that the inclusion of the clause in Creeds from two

independent documents goes a very long way towards showing that the Article had to a certain extent at any rate become established.

We now arrive at a most interesting point in the tracing of the Creeds. Thus far, though some have been nearly the same as our own, and though out of the later ones taken together one might be formed which would be exactly so, yet no single Creed taken by itself is precisely similar to the one we repeat. But we now come to what seems to be the earliest, which is in every respect the same as ours. It occurs in an ancient manuscript, "Libellus Pirminii (Priminii) de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus"; whatever scarapsus may mean. The word is rather a puzzle, being not unlikely a corruption of excerptus. It has been suggested that this word is a scribe's mistake for scriptus. Mabillon has published a treatise from it. Pirminius founded several monasteries, and died in one of them *circa* A.D. 758. The Creed occurs twice; in the former instance the story is repeated of attributing each of the several articles to a several Apostle; in the other instance, identical wth the former, the Creed is given as it was used in the baptismal service. "The Communion of Saints" of course finds a place here.

Although we have in Pirminius' work met with a text of the Creed as complete as we have it now, we must not yet consider it as uniformly established.

The Creed from the protest of Eleutherius, Bishop of Osma, and Geatus, Presbyter of Astorga, against Elipandus, the heretical Archbishop of Toledo, A.D. 785, shows us this; there being omissions in that form, and among others, the clause, "The Communion of Saints" is left out.

Next there comes to our notice another ancient manuscript Creed. It is found at the end of a manuscript volume styled at the beginning, in handwriting to which the date 1542 has been assigned, as " Psalterium Regis Athelstani." Athelstan, however, died in A.D. 941 and this Psalter is in all probability of a later date. The manuscript is in three portions, of which the third, in which the Creed occurs, is the earliest. The language is Greek, and the date of the work, according to Dr. Heurtley, the ninth century or earlier, though it has been stated to be later. This Creed is almost verbally the same as that of Marcellus of Ancyra, of the middle of the fourth century. It is obviously another instance of an ancient form being continued, probably for occasional use, long after it had been superseded as the Church's normal form. And the circumstance of its being in a language to a great extent unknown, would the more contribute to stereotype it. Greek, however, was not entirely unknown to our Saxon forefathers. Bede was himself acquainted with this language ; and he mentions others who were. But this was obviously not the case with the scribe who wrote the Greek in the Athelstan manuscript. The custom of rehearsing the Creed in Greek in that part of the service preparatory to Baptism, which was called, " Traditio Symboli," " Instruction in the Creed," was being continued in use in the Churches of the West. Several examples of Greek Creeds, though usually it is the Constantinopolitan, still remain in the ancient Sacramentaries. And these occur written, not in Greek characters, but in the letters used in the surrounding context of the manuscript in which they are placed. The Creed in question may not improbably have been thus

used in the "Traditio Symboli." From it the article "Communion of the Saints" is absent.

A Greek Creed contained in a manuscript Psalter of Pope Gregory next claims our attention. It is found with the Lord's Prayer and the usual hymns. The manuscript is kept in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge. It has been said to belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and must be looked upon as simply a translation into Greek of the Western Creed in its most complete form. The Creed is of a type, though, of long after the age of Gregory; and in it occurs the article, "Communion of Saints" or as it stands in the original "Agion Kinomian." As regards Greek in England, however, we may think of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died A.D. 690.

Subsequent to the eighth century, incomplete Creeds are no longer met with, except in cases like the formulary presented in the Psalter of Athelstan, where ancient forms have been preserved, either for occasional use, or without any special object in view, simply by transcription. Henceforward the Western Creed may be regarded as established in the form in which it exists in our own day.

It may be of interest, however, to present the particular Article with which we are at present concerned in the various shapes in which it occurs until the sixteenth century:

1. England, ninth century: from a manuscript in the Library at Lambeth Palace. Halgana gemaenysse, sanctorum communionem, communion of Saints.
2. England, *circa* 1030 A.D., from a manuscript in the

University Library at Cambridge. Halgena gemaennysse.

3. England, *circa* 1125 A.D., from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, called the Canterbury Psalter. This is most interesting, as taking sanctorum as neuter, making it mean "holy things." "Halegan hiniennesse." "La communiun des seintes choses."

4. England, *circa* 1225 A.D., from a manuscript in the British Museum. The samninge of Halges.

5. England, thirteenth century, British Museum MS. Harleian 3724, fol. 44. Mone of alle haleven.

6. England thirteenth century. British Museum MS. Harleian 2343, fol. 2. Communynge of seyntis.

7. England, fourteenth century, Reliquiae Antiquae, vol. i. p. 38. The comunyng of haleives.

8. England, *circa* 1400 A.D., Prymer in Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. ii., p. 177. Comunynge of seyntis.

9. England, fifteenth century, Douce MS. 246, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. ii., p. 241. Comunyng of seyntes.

10. England, 1538 A.D., Prymer in English and Latin, Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. ii., p. 241. The communyon of sayntes.

11. England, 1543 A.D., from "the necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian man, set furthe by the Kynge's majestie of England." The communyon of sayntes.

We find the clause, too, in a so-called Interrogative Creed of France of the seventh century, from the Codex Bobiensis in Mabillon's Musaeum Italicum, tom i., p. 324 "Communion of Saints." These Interrogative Creeds were used at Baptism. And after the above date the clause occurs almost continuously. In King Edward VI.'s First Prayer-book (1549), it stands thus, "the communion of saynctes." In King Edward VI.'s Second Prayer-book (1552), it stands "the communion of sainctes."

RESULTS OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE CREEDS.

This list of the various Creeds, etc., in which the clause is found, or is not found, leads necessarily to the conclusion that the Article is a comparatively late addition to the Creed. It may be said to be due to the prevalence of the same phase of thought which led to the fixing of the Festival of Trinity Sunday, as the crowning Festival—the summing up of all revealed truth—on the octave of Whit-Sunday; a phase of thought leading to the striving after the union of the seen and the unseen. The clause too is plainly shown to be Western. The words, however, of the Article seem to have flowed into the Eastern Creed. For we find the Greek words representing it in English characters in some later formularies.

EVIDENCE FROM EPITAPHS AND ACTS OF THE MARTYRS.

It may not be unsuitable to state in this position the three main principles gathered from the testimony of the *Epitaphs and Acts of the Martyrs*. We only find single mentions and brief explanations in the oldest Christian Epitaphs and Acts of the Martyrs respectively. These give plain evidence of the doctrine, in the second

century, of the Fellowship of Saints. And in them the idea of the Communion of Saints came to the front after the eschatological ideas had been withdrawn which possessed the minds of the earliest Christians to a very great extent. And the new teaching influenced largely the daily life. We can gather the following main principles from these sources :

I. The intercession among the faithful for each other.

II. The relationship of the elect just in heaven to the faithful believers on earth.

III. Angels are protectors of the faithful.

PART III.

PRAYING FOR THE DEPARTED

INTRODUCTORY.

THE consideration of the Article, "the Communion of Saints," brings naturally to our notice the question as to how far it is right for those members of Christ's Church still on earth to pray for those who have departed this life. The topic appeals to almost all in their practical experience of daily life. We, those of us who have lost near ones and dear ones, can hardly think about them, or recall them to memory, without a wish, the prayer, not uttered it may be, but only breathed as it were, that God will of His infinite mercy in Christ, grant them to rest in peace till He calls them, and ourselves, too, with them, to be with Him at "that day."

POINT OF DIVERGENCE.

"All Christian Churches agree that to God alone belongs adoration. But the Papists and Greeks connect with this an invocation and reverence of angels and of saints—that is of the dead who for their sanctity have already attained to their felicity in God—as intercessors with God; and they believe that even the pictures and the relics of these saints should be reverenced. The

more this part of the Roman dogmatics has been contested the more necessary does it become to let the symbols themselves speak which declare the Church's doctrine, so that we may separate what is merely the superstition of the world from the dogma which the Church itself holds and decrees."—Dr. Winer's "Confessions of Christendom," p. 68.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

As regards the Church on earth, each member should pray for all, and all should pray for each. There should also exist the fellowship in the Sacraments, and especially the fellowship in the Lord's Supper, the Holy Eucharist. And, moreover, the members of the Church "militant here on earth" may, as some teach, pray for the faithful departed, though that is not the doctrine of the Church of England.

GENERAL ARGUMENTS.

Some urge that it may be fairly argued that since prayer is beneficial and efficacious in this life (*cf*, and "pray for them which despitefully use you," S. Matt. v. 44), it follows that it should be efficacious also for those who are departed. There is, we must remember in dealing with this point, the connection between the Kingdom of Heaven and the faithful living upon earth. Prophets and priests have ever been mediators with God. And we find reference to prayers of the slain martyrs to God, showing the same spiritual condition in this respect as existing in the Kingdom of Heaven. *Cf.* Rev. vi. 9, 10, "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: and

they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" And Rev. v. 8, "And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints." And also Rev. viii. 3, 4, "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." All these passages, however, are from Revelation. Should we not ask naturally for guidance from Gospels and Epistles?

PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL ON EARTH AND FAITHFUL DEPARTED OFFERED TO GOD.

And others further say that allowing that "Saints" may refer, as indeed beyond doubt it may, to the faithful on earth as well as the faithful departed, we have prayers of both being offered to God; and it is only in keeping with all our spiritual doctrine that these prayers should be for each other. And the passages are further quoted to show that there is an interest in those on earth in the Kingdom of God borne by the saints in glory. And this participation, this communion of the heavenly saints in the interests of the faithful on earth, lies at the basis of the Apocalyptic Revelation. *Cf.* also S. Matt. xviii. 10, "For I say unto you, That in Heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in Heaven."

Therefore, we are bidden to take heed that we despise not even one of Christ's little ones on earth. Thus can be traced the connection between praying for the dead and the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. We note, though, that "their angels" does not mean the souls of the blessed dead. What we want is a definite voice to show that the dead can intercede.

EVIDENCE OF S. AUGUSTINE.

S. Augustine very decidedly gives his opinion, Sermo CLXXII. Caput II. Migne, P. L. xxxviii. col. 936, "It cannot be doubted that the dead are aided by the prayers of Holy Church, and by the saving sacrifice, and by alms offered for their souls' welfare,—that God may deal with them more mercifully than their sins have deserved. For the universal Church acknowledges this tradition of the Fathers, that in respect to those who have departed in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, when mention is made of them in its due place at the sacrifice, prayers and the offering itself are mindfully pleaded for them also."

ONESIPHORUS.

S. Augustine has, on his side, the scanty testimony that the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament contain on the point; for Onesiphorus, as has been urged, could hardly have been alive when S. Paul wrote that petition for his soul, II. Tim. i. 18, "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day." His death, moreover, seems implied in the prayer for his household in v. 16, "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus"; and in the salutation in iv. 19, and in the regretful tone as of retrospect adopted in the

the mention of his good deeds. Chrysostom, however, thought that Onesiphorus was with S. Paul at the time (as regards 1 Tim. i. 18). Others, again, have suggested that he, like Demas, had lapsed, and therefore the prayer was specially needed—" forgive his defection," *cf.* the prayer, II. Tim. iv. 16. Or it may be said that " The house of Onesiphorus " is equivalent to " Onesiphorus and his house." It seems almost, perhaps, in the face of this conflicting evidence, better to say that the case is " not proven " for any view.

EARLY EVIDENCE: AND THAT OF THE CATACOMBS AND MONUMENTS

Prayers for the dead are found in Catacombs and on Monuments in the cemetery of Priscilla—all of the first part and of the middle of the second century. These we will deal with later. First we must take the earlier testimony of Justin.

JUSTIN.

In Justin's Dialogue with Tryphon c. 105 (ed. Otto, I. 2. p. 376) we find the following passage: " And in that he asked that the souls should be saved from the sword and lions' mouth, and the power of the dog, the petition was that none should gain the mastery over his soul: so that when we come to our departure, we may ask the same blessing from God, Who is able to drive away every shameless evil angel, that he may not capture our soul." And in the same connection (*Ibid.*, ed. cit. p. 378) " Whence also God teaches us through His Son, that we should thoroughly strive to become righteous, and ask that, at our departure, our souls may not fall under any such power. For giving up the ghost upon the cross,

He said: Father, into Thy hands I commit My Spirit." This I have learned from the "Memoirs of the Apostles."*

Justin talks of prayers offered up by the faithful at the moment of the soul's departure, lest an evil demon should take possession of it. We find apparently the same idea in Cardinal Newman's "Dream of S. Gerontius." The way in which Justin expresses himself shows that the prayers of the living were joined with the petition of the departing one.

CHRIST'S WORDS ON THE CROSS.

The words of our Lord on the Cross, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit," is a prayer for the protection of the departing Spirit. And this example of their Master was imitated by His followers in the early ages of the Church.

FUNERAL HYMN OF PRUDENTIUS.

The early Christian's expression of thought with reference to the departed is clearly seen in the funeral hymn of Prudentius, "Jam moesta quiesce querella." It is to be found in Archbishop Trench's "Sacred Latin Poetry," p. 281, ed. 2.

Jam moesta quiesce querella,
Lacrimas suspendite, matres,
Nullus sua pignora plangat,
Mors haec reparatio vitae est.

Sic semina sicca virescunt,
Jam mortua jamque sepulta,
Quae reddita coespite ab imo
Veteres meditantur aristas.

* "Memoirs of the Apostles." Doubtless the Gospels; but we must not claim too much.

Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,
Gremioque hunc concipe molli :
Hominis tibi membra sequestro,
Generosa et fragmina credo.

Animae fuit haec domus olim,
Factoris ab ore creatae.
Fervens habitavit in istis
Sapientia principe Christo.

Tu depositum tege corpus,
Non immemor ille requiret
Sua munear fictor et auctor
Propriique aenigmata vultus.

Veniant modo tempora justa
Cum spem Deus impleat omnem,
Reddas patefacta necesse est,
Qualem tibi trado figuram.

Non, si cariosa vetustas
Dissolverit ossa favillis,
Fueritque cinisculus arens
Minimi mensura pugilli :

Nec, si vaga flamina et aurae,
Vacuum per inane volantes,
Tulerint cum pulvere nervos,
Hominem periisse licebit.

Sed dum resolubile corpus
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas,
Quânam regione jubebis
Animam requiescere puram ?

Gremio senis addita sancti
Recubabit, ut est Eleazar,
Quem floribus undique septum
Dives procul aspicit ardens.

Sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor,
Quibus atrâ morte triumphans,
Tua per vestigia mandas
Socium crucis ire latronem.

Patet ecce fidelibus ampli
Via lucida jam Paradisi,
Licet et nemus illud adire,
Homini quod ademerat anguis.

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequente,
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargimus odore.

Dr. Moule, the Bishop of Durham, paraphrases part of the concluding portion of this relic of the fourth century as follows: "Weep not, this death is but life's renewal. Earth, take the dear deposit to thy charge, only till its Creator shall bid thee render up His image. And the pure soul meanwhile, whither has it departed to its rest? To Lazarus in the arms of Abraham; to the penitent, who stepped, with the Lord, from the Cross to Paradise—Paradise now for ever opened to the faithful, ample Paradise with its avenue of light."—"Christ is All," p. 90.

The oldest and most important testimony under the head of Catacombs and Monuments for the custom of

commending the souls of the departed after death to God in prayer is to be found in the last four verses of a metrical epitaph, preserved in two copies, from the catacomb of Priscilla: (De Rossi, "Bulletino di archeol. crist." 1884–5, pp. 71-76; 1886, pp. 49–51; "Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae," II. pars 1, p. xxx.; Wilpert, "Fractio panis," S. 59–60.)

Vos precor, O fratres, orare huc quando veni(tis)
Et precibus totis patrem natumque rogatis,
Sit vestrae mentis { sanctae animae / Agapes carae } meminisse
Ut Deus omnipotens Agapen in saecula servet.

This belongs to about the same period as that in which Justin lived and taught at Rome, as is fully shown from a chronological examination by de Rossi of the oldest monuments of that particular catacomb; and also from the expositions of Wilpert on the dates of the paintings in the so-called "capella Greca" of the same catacomb.

PRACTICE OF MIDDLE OF SECOND CENTURY.

The faithful in Rome, therefore, about the middle of the second century, offered up in their liturgical services prayers for the dead; and probably, also, in their private petitions, that God would shield their souls in eternity. Dr. J. P. Kirsch, in his volume, "Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen in christl. Alterthum," relates a story from the Acta Pauli et Theclae with reference to a daughter who appeared to a mother instructing her to adopt Thecla, and asking for her prayers to procure her entrance into heaven. Acta Pauli et Theclae, c. 28–29 (ed. Lipsius I, p. 255 ff). Das Gebet der Thecla

lautet: "O my God, the Son of the Highest in the heavens, grant to her her wish that her daughter Phalkonilla may live for ever."

He also lays stress on the fact that the early Christians believed that the Martyrs especially were supposed to have power in offering petitions for the souls of the departed. The belief that they entered straight into heaven at death accounts for this supposed power on their part. The idea began about the close of the second century.

THE PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The pronouncement, on the point, of the Council of Trent is interesting. We find it given as follows: "Concerning invocations, adoration, and relics of the Saints, and holy images." "The Holy Synod directs all Bishops and others . . . that in accordance with the usage of the Catholic Apostolic Church . . . they carefully instruct the faithful, especially about the intercession (and) invocation of the Saints . . . teaching them that the saints reigning with Christ do offer to God *their* prayers for man; that it is a good and profitable thing humbly to call upon them, and with a view to obtaining blessings from God (through His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, who is alone our Saviour and Redeemer), to seek refuge in their prayers, aid, and help; that, on the other hand, those who own that the saints enjoying eternal bliss in heaven are not to be invoked or, who allege either that they do not pray for men, or that the invocation of them to pray for us severally is idolatrous or repugnant to the Word of God, and opposed to the honour of the One Mediator between God and

Mankind, Jesus Christ, or that it is foolish to invoke with voice or heart persons reigning in heaven; are impiously minded." Labbe, "S. Concilia," tom. xiv., col. 895.

With reference to this passage Fra Paolo Sarpi, in his "Histoire du Concile de Trente," vol. II. p. 928, has the following comments: "Here the Council goes further than it did at the commencement of the decree; because in condemning those who maintain that one ought not to pray to the Saints, it decides, in so doing, that one ought to offer petitions to them; making, in a sense, a duty of what had been before merely declared expedient and useful. However, one cannot state that the ancient Church has ever sanctioned it as necessary. At the same time one does not see that this invoking has been really introduced into public worship until the 16th century; and it is at least certain that in the old Liturgies and Sacramentaries one finds no direct invocation."

TRUE ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

The true aspect, however, in which to regard the question, I would venture to think, is that there are things not taught or commanded in Scripture which may yet be both right and profitable, though at the same time not of the *essence* of either faith or practice. Thus prayer for the faithful souls departed from this troublesome life is not essential, *e.g.*, to the due celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, when we return thanks to God in blessing His holy name for those who have departed this life in His faith and fear in the prayer for the Church Militant.

And it must be carefully remembered, I would suggest, that in discussing the question of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of praying for the departed, the first point to be sure of is what the New Testament teaches; and the next is to assure ourselves as to the custom of the early Christians; which should be closely scrutinised, and then see how that custom ceased. The New Testament teaching has been already noted, viz., that it is practically silent.

THE USE OF PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD BY THE EARLY CHURCH.

The use of prayers for the dead by the early Church is undoubted. The various intercessions, of course, differed endlessly; and nothing is gained by comparing them very minutely. It will suffice to take the heads of seven as found in Neale's "History of the Eastern Church," Introduction, vol. I., p. 508. They may fairly be said to be patterns of the whole:—(1) Apostles (Nestorian) extremely short; in this the clause does not occur. (2) Aethiopic Canon, "All the departed." (3) S. Mark, "All the departed, and Patriarchs, Prophets, etc." (4) S. Chrysostom, "Commemoration of S. John Baptist, Apostles, and all departed." (5) S. Basil, as S. Chrysostom. (6) S. James, "All spirits generally, from Abel till the present time." (7) S. Sixtus, "All the faithful departed." The above author has the following sentence on this point: "I am not now going to prove, what nothing but the blindest prejudice can deny, that the Church, East, West, and South, has with one consentient and universal voice, even from Apostolic times, prayed in the Holy Eucharist for the departed faithful." The

peculiar method in which the Eastern Church commemorates the Saints is then noticed; and it is stated that beyond question the Early Church offered the Eucharistic Sacrifice as well for the highest Saints, and even for the Blessed Virgin Mary, as for the common multitude of the faithful departed. To a certain extent that custom still prevails in the East. In the passage quoted, however, Neale seems to go far beyond his evidence.

WHY THE PRACTICE WAS DISCONTINUED.

And now we must endeavour to trace how and why it was that this use came to be given up. It has to be borne in mind in doing so that the early Christians did not hold that any of the departed, however holy, are admitted to heaven on their death; but that all who die at peace with God then enter into a state or place inferior to that of final bliss, in which they will remain until the day of judgment. This state or place they called by the names which their Lord taught them, of Abraham's bosom, and of Paradise. *Vide*, the Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, cap. L., where Dr. Lightfoot remarks as follows:—"*χῶρον εὐσεβῶν*, the place assigned to the pious, like *τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης* ξ5, or *τοῦ ἱδρυμένου αὐτοῖς τόπου* ξ44. See also Apost. Const., viii. 41, *χῶρος εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένος κ.τ.λ.*, Lebas-Waddington Asie Mineure Inscr. 168, *εὐσεβέων χῶρον δέξατο πᾶσι φίλον*. For *χῶρον εὐσεβῶν* the existing text of Clem. Alex. has *χώραν εὐσεβῶν*, the country, the realms of the pious; which suggests a more sensuous image conveying a notion similar to the 'Elysian fields.' The one might be translated 'locus piorum,' the other 'campus piorum.'

But χῶρος rather than χῶρα accords with the language of the Roman Clement elsewhere."

Similarly, Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, "Dial. c. Tryph.," c. 5, tom. i., p. 26, who further says that it is blasphemous to hold that the souls of the righteous ascend to heaven at their death, because such doctrine is not consistent with the true doctrine of the Resurrection. A little later, S. Irenaeus, it has been put forward, states ("L.V.C." xxxi. §2 tom., i., p. 805, ed. Stieren), that "the souls [of the disciples of Christ] (these words neither in Greek nor in Latin) depart into the [unseen] (in Latin only) spot assigned to them by God, and remain there till the Resurrection; then, reassuming their bodies, and rising again in their completeness, that is, in the body, even as also the Lord rose again, in such sort will come to the sight of God." The Fathers, it is to be noted, make no exception on behalf of the Virgin Mary, nor of any other. All are awaiting judgment in that unseen place. And they knew that it *must* be so,—that in all things the chosen ones may be conformed to Christ their Head. For "no disciple," saith He, "is above his Master; but everyone that is perfect shall be as his Master." Tertullian and Origen bear similar testimony to this waiting condition of the soul on leaving this earth, with ample later testimony.

PRACTICE OF THE EARLY CHURCH NOT TO BE RECONCILED WITH THAT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Now the primitive prayer for departed souls was based upon this primitive doctrine as to their condition. It was consistent with it; but cannot by any amount of ingenuity be reconciled with the later teaching and practice

of the Church of Rome. The matter has been well put thus :—" To suggest, as her divines sometimes do, that when the primitive Church professed to offer for the Martyrs, that solemn mention of their names before God was not a prayer, but only ' for their honour and remembrance,' is in effect to accuse her of using language, not merely inappropriate, but misleading in the most awful moment of her most sacred rite—to accuse her in fact of profanity under the guise of piety."

Another plea advanced by Roman Catholics destroys the first ; for it acknowledges that those whom she now worships as saints, were themselves prayed for in the first ages ; but offers to explain the fact by urging that until good men departed " have been enrolled in the number of the saints by the sovereign Pontiff, we cannot know for certain in what state they may be found," an argument that appears hardly less preposterous than the former, when we remember that among those holy ones for whose blessedness the Bishop of Rome is on this theory required to vouch, are the very mother of our Lord and His Apostles.

COVERDALE'S STATEMENTS.

Now as to *praying for the dead*, they, the Roman Catholics, teach—"For in that the Supper of Christ is to them not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice, and that not only applicatory, but also propitiatory, because it applieth the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ to whom the priest will, be he dead or alive ; and in that even from the beginning, the fathers were accustomed, in the celebration of the Supper, to have a memorial of the dead ; and also in that this sacrifice is a sacrifice of the whole Church ; the dead being members of the Church, of

charity, as they cannot but offer for them, even so they cannot but pray for them after the ensample of the Catholic Church; because it is a wholesome thing, saith Judas Maccabæus (2 Macc. xii. 44–45), to pray for the dead that they may be delivered from their sins."

"Now as to *praying to saints*, they teach, that albeit there is but one Mediator of redemption, yet of intercession the holy saints of God departed this life may well be counted mediators. And, therefore, it is a point of lowly heart and humble spirit, which God well liketh, to call upon the Saints to pray for us first, lest by our presumption to come into God's presence, we being so unworthy, and God being so excellent and full of majesty we more anger and displease God; whereas by their help God may be entreated to make us more worthy to come unto Him, and the sooner to grant us our petitions. For if the Holy Saints of God being here upon the earth could and would pray for the people, obtaining many things at God's hand; it is much more to be believed now, say they, that they can and will, if we pray to them, obtain for us our humble and godly desires. And, therefore, to this end their sacrifice propitiatory which in the Mass they offer, may be the more available they use about it much praying to saints. So of these four as of four pillars the mass standeth." —Coverdale, "Remaines," ed., Parker Society, p. 250.

"Whereas they say that the fathers from the beginning were accustomed to make memorials for the dead; this I grant to be true, and as we do in our communion. But to gather that therefore they prayed for them, it no more followeth than to say that our English service doth allow it, where it doth not. For ye must note that there is a

memorial for the dead, as well as in giving thanks to God for them, as in praying for them; for to say, to pray for the dead, is a general word including in it giving of thanks. And, therefore, when we read in ancient fathers of the primitive Church of memorials for the dead, or praying for the dead, it is not to be understood that they prayed for to deliver them from purgatory (for that was not found out then), or from hell (as our papists do in their prayers of the Mass), for there is no redemption . . . but either for the desire of the more speedy coming of Christ, to hasten the Resurrection; either that they might not be thought neglect or careless over the dead; either that the living might be occasioned to increase in love to the Church here on earth, who still followeth with goodwill and love even men when they be departed; either to admonish the Church to be diligent over such as live, and careful to extend her love, if it were possible, even to the dead. So expounded not only early but also late fathers, *e.g.*, Austin, Chrysostom, and others."—Coverdale, *Ibid.*, p. 269.

"Where they say that because this sacrifice of the whole Church, whereof the dead be members, therefore they should be prayed for; as before I have showed, that we must put a difference between members of the Church Militant here on earth and those which be now at rest and peace with God; so would I have you to note here that they should pray for none other dead than such as be members of Christ's Church. Now in that all such die in the Lord, and therefore are happy, I would gladly learn what good such prayer doeth to those so departed. As for purgatory pike-purse they pass not upon it. But

that this is a sacrifice applicatory or propitiatory the Papists can never prove.

"Where they say charity requireth it, I answer that inasmuch as charity followeth faith, and will not go a foot further than faith showeth the way; seeing that faith is not but of the Word of God, and God's Word for this they have not, easy it is to perceive that this praying thus for the dead is not of Christian charity. But be it that charity requireth it, why they are so uncharitable they will do nothing herein without money.

"Where they allege the sentence of the Maccabees, as all men of learning know, the Fathers allow not that book to be God's Spirit or catholic, so do I wonder that in all the Old Testament this sacrificing for the dead was never spoken of before. In all the sacrifices that God appointed we read of never one for the dead.

"This gear came not up till the religion was wonderfully corrupt among the Jews. . . . Howbeit for this matter of praying for the dead, know of a truth that there be no doctors of four hundred or five hundred years after Christ's Ascension, but if they seem in some places to allow praying for the dead, yet they should be taken in some of the senses which I have specified. In many places do they by divers sentences declare it themselves." —*Ibid.*, p. 270.

SUMMARY AND STATEMENT OF CASE.

Summing up, it may be stated that originally all the faithful dead were prayed for in the same terms, none having yet "received their joy," as the prayer in the old English Missals words it. Then there arose the Pope's doctrine concerning departed souls, that they are

in heaven, or hell, or purgatory, which is a mixture, apparently, of Christian doctrine and heathen philosophy, and subversive of the Scriptural doctrine of the Resurrection. When this belief in purgatorial suffering for the ordinary believer began to spread, it not only confirmed the primitive prejudice against prayer for the saints, which then was understood to imply that they were still in purgatory, but necessarily led in time to a change in the prayers offered for the repose of souls of ordinary Christians. This change of opinion and its effects seems quite plain from the two prayers belonging severally to these distinct shades of doctrine.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN ROMAN CHURCH.

The Church of Rome prays for her dead thus:— "Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep lake. Deliver them from the mouth of the lion, lest Tartarus swallow them, lest they fall into the place of darkness." "Sacrifices and prayers of praise we offer to Thee, O Lord; do Thou receive them on behalf of the souls whom we this day commemorate. Cause them, Lord, to pass from death unto life." This language implies that the souls for whom prayer is made are in great suffering, though capable of falling into worse; and further, that their escape from it is a passage from death unto life. And the Catechism of the Council of Trent leaves no doubt as to how this suffering is inflicted:— "There is a purgatorial fire, by which the souls of the pious, being tormented for an appointed time, are expiated, so that an entrance into their eternal country

may be open to them." On the other hand, however, the early Christian Church prayed for her departed thus:—"Remember, O Lord, the God of the spirits [and] of all flesh, *cf.* Num. xvi. 22, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, and whom we have not commemorated, from righteous Abel to this present day. Thyself cause them to rest there in the land of the living, in the delight of Paradise, in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy Fathers, whence have fled pain and sorrow and groaning, where the light of Thy countenance visits and ever shines."

These two kinds of prayer have plainly quite different objects and meanings. The early Church did not, like the Mediæval and Modern Roman, seek by her prayers to release the dead in Christ from torment. She felt assured that they were at rest, and merely prayed that they might remain so, shielded from all harm and ill by God's love. It was an act, therefore, that proceeded from a sense of the oneness of all in Christ, and from love;—the essential conditions, indeed, of the Article of the Creed we have been considering, the "Communion of Saints." And so we can trace the

CONNECTION OF THIS SUBJECT WITH THE DOCTRINE OF THE ARTICLE.

For, allowing that the statements and passages given on pages 13–18 are among the sources from which the Doctrine of the Communion of Saints is derived, viz., the fellowship of the saints on earth with the faithful departed, and with the angels, and, above all, with Christ our Lord, it would seem that the statement of such connection is both justifiable and warranted.

AS TO HOW WE AND THEY HAVE FELLOWSHIP.

In any case, however, the Communion of Saints must mean the Communion of Christ's people, here and in Paradise, with Him and with one another. That is past all doubt. But there remains the question as to whether there is or is not sufficient Scripture warrant as to how *we* and *they* have communion. Moreover, with reference to prayers for the dead, the Primitive Church prayed for the blessed dead, which is a very natural thing. Yet the only New Testament justification is what many consider the very doubtful case of Onesiphorus. The practice may possibly be right, but we do not know whether it is of any use. And as regards the Invocation of Saints, it may be asked, What evidence is there that they can hear at all, or that they know what goes on here, *save in so far as for some special reason it may be revealed to them?* It seems to me that while we know the fact, the means, as is often the case, of the accomplishment are withheld from our perception.

APPENDIX.

A FEW ADDITIONAL AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Let us gather up the inferences that I venture to think may fairly be drawn with reference to this Article. There seem three main points :

(1) When and where this clause has been added first to the creed ?

(2) What was the exact meaning which could be given to "sancti" and "communio" ?—to "saints" and "communion" ?

(3) What were the special motives which drew the addition into the statement of the Christian faith ?

The three seem to hang together very closely : the answers to the last depending upon the reply to the first ; and the two last not being answerable separately.

(1) The phrase apparently is not found before the fifth century, and is not contained in any Eastern formulary. In the Western Creeds, it can only be found in the Gallican—those of Gaul. Dr. J. P. Kirsch thus expresses his opinion : he considers that it is highly probable that the Article had been in the Creed for some time, though only in that of Gaul ; Nicetas having very likely obtained his education and influence in early life thence, and from there moving to Pannonia, which had close relationship with Gaul. The friendship with

Paulinus may have commenced thus early, which would account for the intimacy which we find existing later. Moreover, Nicetas' family may have dwelt in Gaul. All these hypotheses have very considerable support. It may be inferred, therefore, that Nicetas is explaining a Creed which is a Creed of Gaul. *Cf.* Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Christl. Alterthum, p. 220, ff.

(2) It appears to me that it is open to doubt whether Zöckler is right in starting from the Biblical use of the word; and that it is better and fairer to accept the standard Church use of the word in the fourth and fifth centuries, both in case of "holy persons" and of "communion"; and this use, in the case of the former, is the same as it is now, *i.e.* "perfectly just," and so "canonised." *Cf.* Sermo ccxli., n. 4. Migne, P.L. xxxix. Appendix, 2191. "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The Creed has well named the Church catholic and holy: for there are many Churches of the heretics, but that which is not catholic can neither be called holy. There follows *the 'Communion of Saints,'* you therefore who believe in the Holy Catholic Church, enjoying the Communion of Saints (for where the holy faith is, there is also Holy Communion), must also believe in the Resurrection of the body and remission of sins. Every covenant of Baptism involves this, that we believe that the Resurrection of the body and forgiveness of sins are to be granted us by God." Zahn's opinion as to "holy" being neuter has been, I venture to think, shown to be untenable, when it was previously dealt with (page II. ff).

(3) As to the special motives that drew this addition into the statement of the Christian Faith, it may be

broadly stated that they seem to have been either contra-Vigilantian, if the expression may be permitted, or contra-Donatistic. Moreover, Communion of Saints may be taken as explanatory of the holy Church. In certain forms of the legend which assigns the Articles of the Creed to the various Apostles, both these clauses are placed in the mouth of the same Apostle. Thus, "Matthew said, 'The Holy Catholic Church.' Catholic, that is, universal: in which alone sins are remitted, and which rejecting the errors of all heretics, is spread abroad from East to West. 'The Communion of Saints,' because the gifts of the Holy Spirit, while in this life they are different in each individual, yet in eternity they will be universally shared by all: so that wherein any particular saint has been deficient he will share in the graces of others." Ps. Aug. Sermo 240, Migne P.L. xxxix., col. 2189. Subsequently this order was altered, and "Communion of Saints" was linked either to "Forgiveness of sins," or regarded as apart. *Cf.* Ps. Aug. Sermo, 241 Migne P.L. xxxix. col. 2190. "James (the son) of Alphæus, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.' Simon Zelotes, 'the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of sins.'" It is interesting to find the English reformers taking the original view.

SENSE OF THE ARTICLE.

As regards the sense of the Article, therefore, it may be stated that it means the inner religious union of the faithful as members of the mystical Body of Christ, with the other members of the Body, especially with the elect just made perfect who are sure of the membership

of the heavenly kingdom of God, and are able to help with their intercessions those faithful still living on earth. It is this idea of religious fellowship which appears in numerous passages of the works of the teachers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and which became fixed. This union is a high spiritual privilege, which is given in the Church, and is not dissimilar to the Article which follows it in the Creed, viz., "Forgiveness of sins." As far as I can judge, there seems no difficulty in this meaning being accepted as the original one; and that it is in this sense that the Article at first found its way into the Creed. It is possible that it may not have been opposition to heresy that gave it its place there.

"Communion of Saints," "ἁγίων κοινωνία," "sanctorum communio"; ἅγιος derived from the root ΑΓ which appears also as the Latin "sac" in "sacer," "sancio," is equivalent to קָדוֹשׁ. The fundamental idea of the word is *separation*, and, so to speak, *consecration* and *devotion* to the service of God. That which is set apart from the world and to God should separate itself from the world's defilements, keep "unspotted from the world," and should share in the divine purity. Thus the word soon acquires also a moral significance.

κοινωνία shares with κοινός, from which it is derived, and κοινωνικός in the New Testament, many pleasant and honourable uses. *Cf.* Jude 3, "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the *common* salvation," "περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας"; 2 Cor. xiii. 14, "*The Communion* of the Holy Ghost," "ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος"; 1 Tim. vi. 18, "*willing-to-communicate*," "κοινωνικούς." In heathen Greek κοινὸς "in common" is found allied with φιλάνθρωπος "philanthropic" and

used of a person who does not give himself airs and in nothing withdraws himself from friendly and familiar intercourse with his fellows. The word is capable of finding a yet higher application to Christ, of Whom some complained that He ate with publicans and sinners, Matt. ix. 10, 11. He, too, in this sense, and in the noblest sense of the word, was κοινός.

These ideas and shades of meaning involved in the two Greek and Latin equivalents for "Communion of Saints" must not be lost sight of in summing up the fulness of signification belonging to this Article. They must be borne in mind. They contribute much to the full realisation of its beauty.

May we not understand the phrase as suggestive of all who are truly sanctified in Christ's Church, ever working and praying, and watching for their Lord in the evil and perverseness and misery of mankind that surrounds them, having for their guidance and comfort a sweet communion with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, the Three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity, dwelling always with them, and taking up their abode with them? They are, as the phrase, too, implies, I take it, shielded and provided for by countless angels who day and night do God's pleasure in His loving Providence. We must, moreover, never lose sight of the fellowship which all such have externally in God's word, and in the Sacraments which Christ Himself ordained, with every member of the Church, as well as internally in the closest union and communion with all the holy on earth as living members of Christ Who is the Body. This intimate communion is not destroyed by death. Christ, in Whom they claim their true life, is the Lamb slain from the

foundation of the world. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. They, therefore, have communion and fellowship with all the purified and holy that have departed this life in the true faith and fear of Almighty God, by virtue of their union in God's most Holy Son Jesus. They all in company now enjoy the presence of the Heavenly Father. These all follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. These have all passed through or are passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death; "He maketh them to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth them beside the still waters." Is not this to believe in the Communion of Saints? "O Almighty God who has knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord; grant us grace, so to follow thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys, which thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love thee; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

"One family we dwell in Him,
One Church, above, beneath,
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream of death."

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